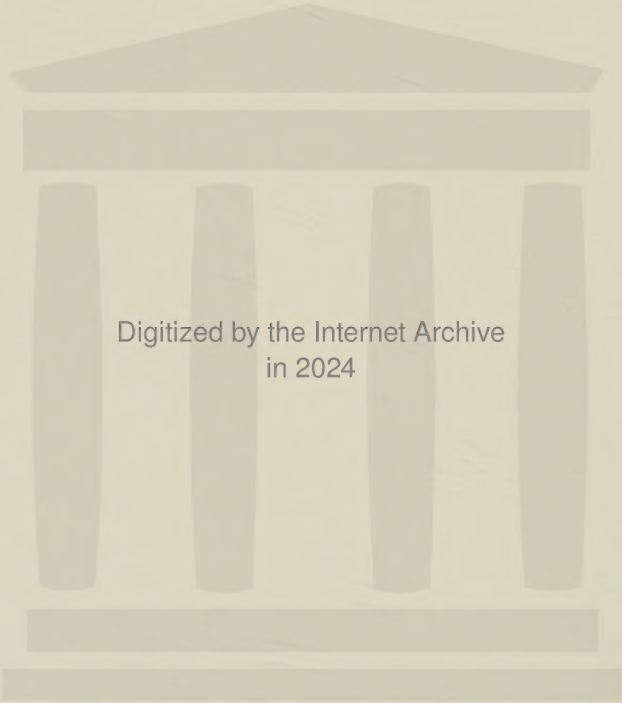
MAXIMS
OF
WASHINGTON

John Frederick Schroeder,
D.D.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Sprinkle Publications
P.O. Box 1094
Harrisonburg, Virginia 22801

TO ALL MEN

WHO REVERE THE SACRED MEMORY

OF

WASHINGTON,

ADMIRE HIS EXALTED VIRTUES,

AND APPLAUD HIS GREAT AND GLORIOUS ACHIEVEMENTS,

This Volume,

A REPOSITORY OF HIS ENNOBLING SENTIMENTS,

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

Speculative reasoners, during that age, raised many objections to the planting of those remote Colonies; and foretold, that, after draining their mother-country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America.

DAVID HUME, *Hist. of Eng.*, JAMES I.; a. d. 1603–1625.
Written, a. d. 1752.

PREFACE.

Lord Brougham, in speaking of the Father of our Country, calls him "the GREATEST *man of our own or any age;* the ONLY ONE upon whom an epithet, so thoughtlessly lavished by men to foster the crimes of their worst enemies, may be innocently and justly bestowed." He adds, "It will be the duty of the historian and the sage, in all ages, to let no occasion pass, of commemorating this illustrious man; and, until time shall be no more, will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and in virtue, be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."

The powerful influence of his character, his achievements, and his opinions, is acknowledged by all men. It has long been extending and increasing. And it cannot fail to produce, eventually, the most important and happy results, in the fulfilment of the final destinies of nations, and the attainment of the chief end of human existence.

By common consent, Washington is regarded as not

merely the Hero of the American Revolution, but the World's Apostle of Liberty. The war of the Revolution was a war of principle, that involved the interests of all mankind. England's violation of our sacred rights, was the stirring of the eagle's nest. It naturally awakened emotions of resistance. British prerogative was opposed by American freedom. Prerogative became arbitrary, and Freedom asserted her rights; Prerogative became oppressive and cruel, and Freedom took up arms and declared her independence The spirit of America's cause was impersonated in her great chief. He was a manifestation of the nation's heart and mind. And under his judicious guidance, by the providence of God, America not only stood erect, before the world, clothed in the panoply of justice, but moved steadily onward in her course ; her shield, and breastplate, and whole armor flashing, at every step, with the light that shone on her from heaven.

Our victory being won, Washington sheathed his sword, and sat, for a brief space, under the shadow of his own vine and fig-tree. Soon, at the nation's call, he guided her in establishing the foundation, and rearing the superstructure, of her vast and imposing political fabric. He saw its topstone laid. And he was exulting, with holy joy, at the completion of his work, when the Supreme Disposer of events, by suddenly removing him from earth, in the fulness of his glory and renown, consecrated his character, and imparted to his opinions the commanding authority which they now possess.

The first name of America, not only is, but always will

be, that of Washington. We pronounce it with filial reverence, as well as gratitude; for we admire and love him, not merely in consideration of what he did, but what he was. There is a sacred charm in his actions and his sentiments, as well as a divine philosophy in his remarkable career.

But his example and his precepts are a legacy, not only to America, but to all mankind. And as they are contemplating and admiring his virtues, they are invited to read, in his own words, his golden maxims. These are adapted to the use of Statesmen, Soldiers, Citizens, heads of families, teachers of youth, and, in a word, all who should aim at what is great and good, in public and in private life, and who would avail themselves of such sagacious, profound, and ennobling sentiments.

With a view to furnish, for popular use, a small volume of the words of Washington, the labor of culling and arranging his memorable precepts in this collection, was originally undertaken. Public documents and private letters, manuscripts and printed volumes, have accordingly been examined, with a view to the completeness and interest of the collection; and none but undoubtedly authentic materials have been used in forming it.

The late Earl of Buchan, whose uniform regard for the American States was manifested long before the epoch of their Federal Union, said of our Washington, "I recommend the constant remembrance of the moral and political Maxims conveyed to its citizens by the Father and Founder of the United States. It seems to me, that *such Maxims and*

such advice ought to be engraved on every FORUM *or* PLACE OF COMMON ASSEMBLY *among the people, and read by parents, teachers, and guardians, to their children and pupils, so that* TRUE RELIGION, AND VIRTUE, *its inseparable attendant, may be imbibed by the rising generation, to remote ages.*"

That generation after generation may enjoy the blessedness of the benign influence which these Maxims are so eminently calculated to exert, should surely be the prayer of patriots, philanthropists, and Christians, until all men shall be animated by the spirit of Washington, and exemplify his precepts.

J. F. SCHROEDER.

NEW YORK, *September* 12*th*, 1854.

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AN

ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON THE EVENING OF THE

TWENTY SECOND OF FEBRUARY,
MDCCCXLVII.

BEFORE THE
YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION
OF THE
CITY OF ALBANY.

BY WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D.D.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE.

ALBANY:
PRINTED BY JOEL MUNSELL.
1847.

To The

GENTLEMEN COMPOSING THE YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Of The City Of Albany,

The Following Address Is Most Respectfully Inscribed,

WITH EARNEST WISHES

That Their Character May Be Conformed

To The Illustrious Model Which It Commemorates,

By Their Obedient Servant,

W. B. S.

ADDRESS.

If any one were to ask me so strange a question, as, Where he might look for a record of the character of Washington, I might properly enough answer, Look upward, and read it on the face of these heavens, so bright at noon-day, so serene at evening; for to the eye of a slave nothing is bright; to the heart of a slave nothing is serene; and but for Washington, who can tell but that we might have been an enslaved nation to this hour? If this should be rejected as fanciful, I might say, Look abroad among the nations, and read it in the deep veneration with which many of the great and good pronounce his name; in the hearty welcome with which many an American is greeted to this day, for the sake of the Father of his Country. Or if this should not be thought palpable enough, I might say, Look over our own happy land; mark the simplicity, the dignity, the efficiency, of our institutions; see every thing, but the one leprous spot upon our body politic, telling of enlightened freedom; count up, if you can, the springs of private and public prosperity, which are centered in our independence; and remember that in all this life and beauty and power, Washington lives; that there is scarcely anything around us, save the air we breathe, for which we are not indebted to his wisdom and energy. Or if this should be pronounced insufficient, inasmuch as it is not a *written* record, I might turn over my inquirer to one of our most illustrious historians, who has immortalized himself, not

more by his theme than by the manner in which he has treated it; who, in giving us the productions of Washington's mind, has portrayed his matchless character with such fidelity, that we seem to have before us the whole man, body, soul and spirit, in all his perfect proportions, and all his colossal dimensions. Or even if this should be objected to, as too voluminous a work for persons of ordinary leisure, I would say there is still no reason to despair of a satisfactory answer to the inquiry; for in Washington's "Farewell Address," which it requires but half an hour to read, there is a glorious epitome of his whole character. If the world holds another civil document which combines more of truth and wisdom and dignity, than this, I know not where to look for it. It ought to be as familiar to us all, as the first lesson which our parents taught us. It ought to be as accessible to the eye, as if it were written in letters of light, and hung up in mid-heaven. The rising generation, every young man especially, ought to carry it nearest to his heart, and ponder it night and day. Be this then the subject of the present commemorative exercise,—WASHINGTON'S CHARACTER, PARTICULARLY AS ILLUSTRATED BY HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS, A STUDY FOR THE YOUNG MEN OF OUR REPUBLIC.

In fixing the time, you have also virtually designated the subject, of my address; and, in doing so, I hardly need say that you have forbidden even the attempt to lead you into any other than a most familiar path. And I am glad that it is so. I am glad that the character of Washington stands out so prominently, that it can be known and read of all men. The sun is not the less

glorious to my eye, because I know that he has been shining upon the world for ages, and that all the dwellers upon earth are familiar with his illuminating and quickening beams; nor is the theme on which I am now to discourse to you, the less grateful to my heart, because I know that eloquent tongues and eloquent pens have glowed with it, until nothing that is worthy to be said, *can* be said, but at the expense of acknowledged repetition. I aspire to no higher office, on this occasion, than that which he who exhibits a magnificent picture, performs, as he calls the attention of his visitors to its more striking peculiarities, while yet they can examine it for themselves as minutely as they will. Yonder is *our* picture, hanging as if amidst the splendors of the sun. I shall have fulfilled my purpose, if I may be permitted to ask you not only to notice its general harmony and beauty and incomparable effect, but to pause a little upon some of those peculiar features, out of which chiefly, its irresistible attraction arises.

Let me ask you, in the first place, to contemplate the intellectual character of Washington, as indicated by this matchless document.

Notice the admirable clearness of his perceptions, the perspicuity of his style, his ability to produce in another's mind the perfect image of what exists in his own. I know that with a certain modern school of thinkers and writers, this quality is anything but a recommendation. They live and move and have their being in the mist. Their hearts are ever open to the novel, the wild, the curious; but the true, the good, the useful, must look for advocates

elsewhere. You cannot put yourself in communion with them, but you feel that you are walking in darkness, and know not whither you go. But this mode of thinking, by no means, marks the highest order of intellect; and this mode of writing is nothing less than an imposition upon the world; for, however a man may abuse his own mind by a course of dark and absurd speculation, he surely has no right to tax other minds to follow him in his perplexing and profitless mazes. Washington's address, thrown in among the mystical writings of the day, would be light shining in a dark place. It contains not a sentence nor a part of a sentence, to comprehend the meaning of which the mind of the humblest peasant need to pause. And because it is so intelligible, a superficial reader might imagine that anybody could have written it; and yet this is one of the very qualities that render it so inimitable. But it is nothing more than a fair reflection of its author's mind. It belonged to him, in a pre-eminent degree, to perceive truth clearly, and to express it as clearly as he perceived it. No matter what might be the subject upon which his mind or his pen was employed, it was thrown into a flood of sunbeams: certainly his thoughts were never recorded, till they were so simple both in matter and form, as to be level to the humblest intelligence.

Another attribute of his mind, as here developed, was comprehensiveness. He discerned, as if by intuition, every element and every condition of the body politic. He contemplated its healthful action, and indicated the means of its continuance. He contemplated its diseased action, and prescribed the appropriate remedies. His eye ran along the distant future, and his pen, with unerring

certainty, recorded what was to be, and marked out for the embryo nation, its path to a glorious destiny. He looked upon every event that occurred in its bearing upon the state, with the eye of a philosopher; viewing it, on the one hand, as the effect of some cause or train of causes, and thus analogically shedding light upon the future; and on the other, as being in its turn a cause, requiring to be watched and guided, in order to secure the appropriate result. He was thoroughly at home amidst the deepest springs of human action: nothing was so distant, but that his far-reaching mind seemed to overtake it; nothing so intricate, but that it yielded to a glance of his searching eye.

Here also we have evidence of wonderful power of concentration. Show me a document, if you can, either of ancient or modern date, occupying no greater space than this, that has in it so much of deep and strong thought, so many practical lessons in civil polity, so many earnest admonitions to adhere to the right, as this farewell address contains. What is written in these few pages, might have easily been expanded into a volume; and the marvel is, that any mind could have condensed so much. But it was characteristic of its illustrious author, to say much in a little, and to stop when he had done. He saw intuitively the multiform bearings of every subject to which his attention was directed, and he knew how to select the most practical, the most important, the most impressive. It was emphatically true of him, that his words were few and well chosen. He never spoke, or wrote, or acted, on any great occasion, but the energies of his vast mind seem to have been brought to a point,

and to have operated as efficiently as if they had been trained with exclusive reference to the particular end to which they were directed.

I will only add in respect to his intellectual endowments, that the address upon which I am commenting, shows that he was gifted with consummate taste. The style is perfectly adapted to the subject; and the language is chosen with such uniform and rigid exactness, that criticism herself retires from it in despair. I have read it over and over, to see if I could find a single sentence or a single expression that could be replaced by a better; but I have been constrained to the conclusion that, if there are faults there, my eye cannot detect them. Is it not wonderful that a taste so exact and exquisite, could have been formed, not only without the advantages of early intellectual culture, but amidst protracted scenes of war and tumult; that a hand which had been trained so almost exclusively to the use of the sword, could, as occasion required, wield the pen in a manner which might shame a very master of rhetoric?

I have attributed to Washington great intellectual powers; but mere intellect never decides the character. The intellects of Gabriel and Lucifer, for ought I know, may be alike; but the one is a shining seraph, the other a prince among fiends. If we knew nothing of Washington, apart from his intellectual constitution, we might be unable to conjecture whether his history was that of an Alfred or a Gustavus Adolphus on the one hand, or of a Julius Caesar or a Napoleon on the other. It is the moral element that decides the character for good or evil. Fortunately the founder of our republic was alike

gifted in the moral and the intellectual. The pulsations of his noble heart were a simple response to the actings of his noble mind. Let the immortal document before us be our witness to the truth of this declaration.

The spirit which breathes and glows pre-eminently, from the beginning to the end of it, is the love of country. The fact that his life had been devoted to his country's service, and had been rendered tributary, under God, to her substantial welfare, and that the morning star of promise in respect to her glorious destiny had dawned upon him, was evidently the great fact upon which his thoughts reposed with the most intense satisfaction. He stands forth as an earnest and eloquent expounder of all the great principles of national prosperity. He recommends courses of policy,—the result of his profound reflection and vast observation,—fitted, as he believes, to secure the stability of our institutions. He discovers in the distance, rocks and whirlpools and tempests, amidst which he fears that our vessel of state may founder; and he would fain have her provided, so far as possible, with the means of her own protection. He commits the institutions which he had been instrumental of establishing, to the fostering care of his countrymen, with as warm a solicitude as a parent would feel in providing a suitable guardianship for his own child. And the spirit which animated this noble effort, instead of being kindled for the occasion, was the ruling passion of his life. The miser does not love his gold more than he loved his country. Alexander never longed more intensely to see the world at his feet, than *he* longed to see his

country great and good, as well as free. It seemed like the very breath of his life; a primary element of his being. He sustained indeed other relations than to his country; and he sustained them all gracefully and honorably; but this so far eclipsed all others, that though you should be familiar with everything else concerning him, you might be said to have his whole history yet before you, so long as you were not acquainted with the records of his patriotism.

But the development of his love of country involved the development of a cluster of other great and generous qualities; all of which shine out with unrivalled lustre, from the document we are contemplating.

To what mere human record will you look for such sublime political wisdom as is here exhibited? I mean not that wisdom which consists in knowledge alone; nor yet that which does not rise above the character of mere sagacity, irrespective of the end to which it is applied; but I refer to that quality in which the intellectual and the moral unite, thus securing the selection of the best ends and the fittest means for their accomplishment: and in this kind of wisdom, especially as it stands related to the state, I ask, fearlessly, who so great as our Washington? What end in respect to his country could he have proposed to himself so noble as the preservation of her liberties, and her exaltation on the basis of truth and right, to be a glorious example to the world? And what means for the attainment of this end, so reasonable, so fitting, so practicable, as those which are here so perspicuously and beautifully detailed? It were easy to show, if the time would allow a minute analysis of the paper

before us, that all that the greatest and best minds have every devised for the welfare of the nation, since that period, is at least shadowed forth in this almost unearthly production. He saw with a prophet's eye; he wrote with a prophet's pen; and when we see how much more he knew of the future and how much wiser he was in providing for it, than other great men of his age, even the greatest, we are ready almost to say, without a figure, that he was a prophet indeed.

Nor was his wisdom greater than his integrity. In suggesting a caution against interweaving our destiny with the destinies of other nations, he says, "Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be preserved in their genuine sense." And this is but a sample of what he was always and in everything. He reverenced conscience as God's representative in his soul; she was his counsellor by night and by day; and her teachings, though they came only in a whisper, he never disregarded. In the course of his eventful life, there were some attempts made to put him in conflict with his own principles; and there were occasions on which a mind of almost any other mold than his, would have been in danger of yielding; but he always triumphed over the temptation and scorned the author of it. What a contrast to Arnold the traitor—a name which it would be unpardonable to

mention here, except as its darkness and loathsomeness seem to throw the name of Washington into a brighter glory. It were not a more hopeless undertaking for the Parthian to shoot his arrows against the sun, or for the maniac to put forth his hand to overturn the everlasting hills, than it was for any power on earth or in hell, to attempt to bring this great man even into a questionable attitude in respect to integrity.

Here also we find a beautiful illustration of his magnanimity,—that noblest form of human virtue. In announcing his determination to withdraw from the chief magistracy of the nation, he distinctly declares that in the repeated acceptance of the office, he had sacrificed his own personal wishes to what appeared to be the voice of the people; and the whole tenor of his remarks shows that he would have sacrificed them still farther, if he had believed that the welfare of his country demanded it. And in speaking of the treatment due to other nations, he says, "It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and (at no distant period) a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it?" It were quite too little to say that he was a stranger to everything sordid and selfish: his magnanimity was a high, strong, positive feeling, which came out in a corresponding course of conduct, and made itself felt by every mind within the range of its operation. No man understood military tactics better than he; and in the prosecution of

the war, he displayed the utmost skill and foresight in all his movements. But he never exercised his sagacity at the expense of his honor. He kept even the enemy with which he was contending, impressed with the conviction that he was not merely a great warrior, but in the best sense, a great man. I remember to have seen a letter addressed to him by the accomplished General Burgoyne, after he became a prisoner of war, soliciting some private favor; and he justifies the liberty by saying that certain traits in Washington's character which the incidents of war had brought under his observation, had made it easy for him to forget his official relations in the admiration which he felt for his personal qualities. A noble testimony from an illustrious foe;—a testimony that is abundantly confirmed by the history of his whole life.

Observe, next, the breathings of his humility and modesty from this incomparable address. Hear his own language—"I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself: and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it."

And again—"Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest." Did ever a great man stand forth more thoroughly attired in the garments of humility? Did ever one form an opinion of himself so inferior to that which the whole world had formed concerning him? There is nothing here of the silly cant of affectation; for he claims for himself an honest devotion to the best interests of his country; nor does he depreciate the importance of the results to which, by the blessing of Heaven, his labors have been brought; nevertheless, he is deeply conscious of his own imperfections; and he loses sight, in a great measure, of his particular agency, in the united agency of the common country, and especially in the benignant control of an ever wise and watchful Providence. Is not his modesty, I ask, among the brightest of his attractions? Do not all his other great and good qualities gather fresh lustre from the humble estimate which he himself placed upon them?

You would naturally conclude that such a character as this must have been formed in the school of Him who was meek and lowly in heart; and if we look again into

this farewell address, we shall find that it is pervaded by a deep sense of the importance of religion, especially by a strong feeling of dependence and obligation. No man ever felt more deeply, or expressed more strongly, than he, the necessity of religion as a means of public and national happiness. Here again, listen to his impressive words:—"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." I would not claim more, under this head, for the Deliverer of our country, than the truth will warrant. I do not pretend that Washington's religious character was so strongly marked as was that of Wilberforce for instance, whose spirit was always glowing with the fervors of devotion; or that of the celebrated Colonel Gardiner, after the Christian had succeeded to the profligate; but I mean that, making all

due allowance for the circumstances in which he was placed,—circumstances in many respects the most adverse to the cultivation of the Christian graces, we have reason to believe that he was habitually controlled by the fear and the love of God; and if any insulated incidents that would seem to speak a different language have come down to us, we are constrained to regard them not as proving the absence of a principle of religion, but only as evidence of an imperfect Christian development. The spirit of Christianity seemed to preside over his whole public as well as private life; and unless history brings us a false report, he forgot not that the eye of the Invisible was upon him, even amidst the terrible scenes of the battlefield.

And yet another attribute of his character, as illustrated by this legacy of truth and wisdom,—an attribute which may be considered, in one sense, as the crown of all the rest, is its admirable symmetry. It is rare to find a perfectly balanced character, even where the qualities which compose it rise not above a humble mediocrity. And it is rarer still to find an assemblage of the loftiest qualities so harmoniously combined, that no one can say that any one quality casts any of the rest into the shade. And yet who that knows anything of Washington,—who, especially, that reads his farewell address, can doubt for a moment, that he was pre-eminently one of these rarest specimens of human character? Our country can indeed boast many other names that are deservedly called great; but, in almost every instance, if you scrutinize closely, you find some doubtful spot that you wish to hide; something to disturb harmony, or mar dignity, or lessen usefulness.

Washington, on the other hand, not only possessed every quality that belongs to true greatness, but so far as we can see, possessed all in perfect proportions. The intellectual, the moral, even the physical, are so admirably blended, that everyone feels that the elements of his character must have been weighed out in a perfectly even balance; and no one thinks of exalting one of his faculties at the expense of another. I well know that this is not the type of character which multitudes love to contemplate; for many have a passion for the monstrous as well as the marvelous. It is a common remark that genius is eccentric; and hence not a few admire eccentricity from its supposed alliance to superior intellect; and some even feign eccentricity, as a means of acquiring an intellectual reputation. But this quality, where it actually exists, always supposes imperfection: a correct taste uniformly condemns it. In may be notorious for a little time; but it is like the transient and startling light of a meteor—not like the clear and steady shining of the sun. Cases indeed there are in which ill-balanced minds possess great strength, and make themselves everywhere known and always remembered; but the admiration which they excite at first, rarely survives their own generation. Napoleon's name no doubt will live as long as Washington's; but the one will gather around it, in the distance, a darkness that can be felt, the other will shine brighter and brighter unto the perfect day.

In thus glancing at some of the leading traits of our country's chief Benefactor, you perceive that I have scarcely looked beyond the document from which I proposed to gather my materials. But though I have

purposely kept myself within these narrow limits, aware that, if I should go beyond them, I should find myself in a field too vast to be occupied or even successfully entered within the brief hour allotted to me, I must not forget to remind you that each of the traits to which I have referred, to say nothing of others to which I have not had time to refer, as illustrated by this memorable document, is variously, I had almost said endlessly, illustrated by the history of his brilliant career. What I have said, with his farewell address before me, may suffice as the starting outline of his character; but if you sit down to the careful study of his life, you will find that the little that you have now heard in illustration of his greatness, compared with what is furnished by authentic history, is but the first hint of a lawyer's brief, in comparison with the most elaborate and protracted argument. I would not indeed be afraid to trust to this unparalleled document to vindicate the claims of its author to the character of the first man of his age,—nay, of one of the noblest specimens of the race. I look upon it as that in which his greatness, his goodness, the epitome of all that belongs to his memory, is embalmed; and if it were possible that the time should ever come, when every other witness concerning him was dumb, this of itself would keep his name glorious and glowing to the end of time. Nevertheless, in our estimate of him, it is fitting that we include his whole history, instead of limiting ourselves to a single point, no matter how important; and I pledge myself to those who have not already made the experiment, that, if they will follow him from the beginning to the close of his career, each successive step will

increase their admiration of his character, by throwing into a brighter light some one or more of the exalted qualities that compose it.

Such a character as Washington's must have been designed by Heaven to accomplish wonderful results; but it is manifest that it can never exert its legitimate influence without being known; and it can never be known without being studied. It becomes then an important question, in what manner it should be studied in order that the desired end may be secured.

Need I say that, in this case as in every other, the character must be studied in the life. If you will find out what a man is, you must first find out what he does; for the life is the only true revealer of the heart. Washington's history is to be collected from a thousand sources. You may, if you please, begin with the farewell address; but if you will be just to yourself, you must not end there. You must read, so far as you can, all that he has written, and all that has been written concerning him. You must even gather up all authentic traditions of him that may come in your way; in short, you must act upon the admission that no circumstance, however trivial, that serves to illustrate his character, is too unimportant to be carefully treasured up. You occasionally meet now with an old man, who has once, or perhaps often, stood in Washington's presence; who remembers his august person, his considerable and dignified manner, and perhaps some weighty words that fell from his lips. I counsel you not to be afraid of asking such a man too many questions. You owe it to yourself and your country that you draw from him whatever his memory retains;

and that you not only turn it to good account as material for your own private contemplations, but embody it in some substantial form, that it may meet the eye of those who come after you. It was once my privilege, in the earlier part of my life, to pass considerable time in a family, the heads of which were not only among Washington's nearest relatives, but had actually, for many years formed part of his domestic circle. His name became to my ear like a household word. His noble face was always looking down upon us from the canvass. The furniture of the dwelling was his gift, and some of it had actually been used by himself, and had descended as a legacy. I regret that I did not better improve the privilege I then enjoyed, of gathering and treasuring interesting facts connected with his history. I remember only enough of what I heard, to be ashamed that I remember so little. None of you may have so good an opportunity of learning what he was from those who knew him best; still there are innumerable sources of authentic information within your reach, and I cannot doubt that you will take counsel of my want of wisdom, and eagerly and gratefully avail yourselves of them.

Washington's character is to be studied as well in its individual features, as in its general effect. In one act you may read his humility; in another his self-government; in another his high sense of justice; in another his generosity; in another his reverence for the divine character and providence, and for the truths and precepts and institutions of Christianity; in another his glowing patriotism, in which all these other qualities would seem to be combined: each act you are to refer to its appropriate

disposition; in other words, you are to hold the history to your mind, till the character comes out of it. And when you have found out the various elements of which the character is composed, then you are prepared to study it as a whole; to take in its combined qualities at once, just as the eye, by a glance, comprehends the mingled colors of the bow. And when the character thus gathered, has fairly imprinted its image upon your mind, that image will remain with you as the glorious companion of all your hours; as the true representative of greatness and goodness. You can even redeem time in the contemplation of it; for when you have nothing else to do, here you can find standing occupation; and those are far from being wasted hours that are spent in this noble study. Yes, you must view the character in its component parts, or you will never suitably estimate its entire effect. Become familiar with each of its various qualities, and they will group themselves into a magnificent form, which may itself very properly become the study of a life.

Washington's character should be studied in the influences by which it was formed, and the influences by which it operates.

Its elements were supplied by the Creator; they were once bound up in the mind of an infant; and because that infant was thrown into a world of antagonist influences, no wisdom but that of the Highest could decide whether they were to be molded into one form or another. *There* was indeed true nobility in embryo; but who could tell what these corrupt and withering blasts that are always sweeping over the world, might do to nip that bud of

promise? Fortunately, the first place on which the infant rested, was a place of safety: it was a bosom hallowed as the dwelling of truth and goodness, between which and the Heaven of heavens there was a constant intercommunion. And the aspirations which that mother breathed forth for her precious charge, were such as infinite mercy and faithfulness are pledged to regard. And the first light that shone upon that infant's mind was the pure light of an excellent mother's teachings and example: it is not too much to say that it was her influence that gave to his faculties their first and ultimate direction. When you have seen how much he was indebted to parental and domestic influences, you may follow him into the world, and you will find him cast upon a theater wonderfully fitted to the development of his powers. The movements of his mind seemed to harmonize with all the movements of providence. Though he was always in places of trust and honor, he never occupied one of his own seeking. He found his country in most delicate and perilous circumstances; with much of the lofty spirit of freedom, amidst the breathings of a deep disquietude; and the news that they were forging manacles for her beyond the sea, brought her into the attitude of stern resistance; and he was designated to conduct the enterprise,—an enterprise which filled the world with wonder, and took from the brightest crown on earth the choicest of its jewels. And after our national independence was acknowledged, such a man as he could not go into retirement. There was glorious work found to be waiting for him. His hand had gained the victory, and his brow must wear the laurels. And hence we quickly find him in

the chief magistracy of the nation; discharging the duties of the statesman with the same ability and success, which had before marked his course as a warrior. I need not enter into any of the particulars of his history: suffice it to say that the circumstances in which he was placed, would seem to have been as well adapted to the formation of his noble character, as if that had been the only end for which Providence designed them. The more you contemplate these circumstances in detail, the more you will know of the process by which Washington's name has become the admiration of the world.

But it is no less needful, if you will study this character to good purpose, that you should note the influences by which it operates; in other words, that you should consider the wonderful train of causes and effects which his agency has constituted, and in which he is ever fulfilling his mission as an angel charged with blessings to the world.

I shall not be suspected of claiming too much for him, when I say that he was the master spirit in the most perilous and the most glorious scenes of our country's history. Be it so that he had many illustrious coadjutors,—but is there one of them who would not be constrained to retire before *his* superior splendor? I would indeed pronounce their names with reverence always; I would encourage Patriotism to build monuments to their honor; I would invoke Gratitude to lay her fragrant offerings upon their graves; I would have their noble deeds chronicled, as if in letters of gold, that the memory of them might be securely transmitted to the latest

posterity; but I would not admit, even in thought, that the greatest of them all had ever earned the laurels of Washington. It was his hand that guided us through the perils of the revolutionary conflict, to the dignity of national independence. It was his wisdom, far more than that of any other man, that contributed to form the glorious constitution under which we live. And as he was the first occupant of the Presidential chair, and remained in it during a period of eight years, in which were settled a variety of weighty questions incident to the earliest operations of the government, it is not too much to say that he gave the first impulse to the machine, which he had had a primary agency in constructing,—an impulse which we trust will not cease to be felt, while our free institutions continue to exist. And thus the very same circumstances and actions by which his own character was so nobly developed, became in turn a channel through which his influence operated to secure and establish his country's freedom.

In due time Washington died. The bosom that had been so long the nursery of lofty purposes, gathered the coldness and insensibility of a clod. The voice through which wisdom and power had been accustomed to speak, was hushed in a silence that will yield only to the voice of the archangel. That majestic form, which needed only to be seen to be admired and reverenced, disappeared not only from the scenes of public life, but from the retirement of his dwelling and his chamber; and the whole world knew that the sepulchre had claimed it. But it was little that death accomplished after all; for even before death had done its work, the noble character was em-

balmed in all its life and power; provision was already made by which it would as certainly become the property of each successive generation, and perform for each a glorious work, as that the ordinance of Heaven changes not. Look around you, my countrymen, and see how bright is the light in which you are walking. Contemplate the means of personal safety, of intellectual and moral culture, of domestic and social enjoyment, and above all, the privilege of exercising without constraint and without fear, the right of thinking for yourselves,—and say whether, in view of these blessings, which are as free to you as the air you breathe, your pulsations are not sometimes quickened even into a glow of rapture. But believe me, in all this, you are only receiving the breathings of the spirit of Washington. The causes which he put in operation before death palsied his hand and congealed his life-blood, continue to operate with undiminished, nay with constantly increasing vigor. Though, when you think of his body, you are obliged to think of the grave; and when you think of his soul, your mind involuntarily rises to a purer religion, yet there is a sense in which you realize his presence still in the midst of you: you feel that he is at work in much of the good that you experience; and that his spirit can never be dislodged from these free institutions, till the institutions themselves are swept from the earth.

But if we will estimate aright the work which Washington was raised up to accomplish, we must not stop with our own country, but must take in the world; we must not limit ourselves to the past and the present, but must include the future also. It is the nature of influence, that

it is at once cumulative and diffusive. It may become less perceptible, especially to a superficial observer; but it really grows stronger as it grows older; and it is always working for itself new, though often secret, channels. We trust in the gracious Ruler of the world, that these institutions in which we now rejoice, will shed their light upon us, without even a temporary eclipse, so long as the sun and the moon shall endure; and if this bright vision of our faith should be realized, who can calculate the amount of blessing to be dispensed to our country in the progress of ages? But we are to bear in mind that we are a city set upon a hill. Young as we are in the family of nations, the nations are still looking towards us, some with a jealous, some with a grateful, all with a watchful eye; and it would be false modesty in us not to feel that our influence already circles the globe, and that it cannot otherwise be than that, in the common course of events, it should tell mightily upon the world's destiny. When I see our country, yet in her infancy, represented all over the world, not only through her commercial enterprise, but her philanthropic and missionary ardor, and especially her well established political relations; when I mark the heaving of enslaved nations, premonitory, as I cannot doubt, of the approaching end of that system under which they have groaned so long; and especially when I hear of men of mark and men of might, with their eye turned towards these shores, boldly avowing their preference for republican institutions, I am not slow to believe that, at no distant period, the tree of liberty first planted here, will be sending forth it scions throughout the whole earth; and mark it, when that day shall come, the world

will be full of the glory of our Washington. His influence has darted across the ocean, and is at work there with mighty energy, already; but I expect that it will ere long perform greater works than these. I look for the time when it shall stamp every iron scepter as a hateful thing. In the vista of future years, I seem to see Spain and Italy, bowed for so many ages beneath the oppressor's rod, walking erect, and breathing the pure air of freedom. My eye traverses the vast empire of Russia, where the immortal mind shudders to find itself thinking its own thoughts; it stretches over the wilds of Siberia, that prison-house of the world; it takes in the wide region in which Mohamedism points a sword at the heart of every man who would be free;—and throughout this immense dominion I see tyranny brought down into the dust, and liberty well established upon her throne. I do not say that Washington's influence has done it all; but I believe that when this glorious vision shall be realized, Washington's spirit will have breathed upon that widespread desolation; and posterity need not marvel, if they should hear of monuments erected to his memory, of songs sung to his praise, even in the ends of the earth.

And to crown all, Washington's character should be studied in a manner to involve the vigorous exercise of the moral as well as the intellectual faculties; it should be studied not merely that it may be known, but that it may be admired, loved, imitated. You are only on the surface of any great subject, when you have reached a correct apprehension of the truths which pertain to it. There is an inward sense lodged deep among the sensibilities of the soul, which takes up such a subject where a mere

intellectual perception leaves it; and you feel then that you are not only in contact with truth, but in contact with its loveliness and power. If it be an illustrious character that you are contemplating, you seem to breathe the atmosphere which it creates; the inmost sanctuary of the spirit is thrown open to you; and if you take note of your own inward experience, you quickly come to realize that the beautiful object on which your eye lingers so gratefully, is gradually impressing its image on your heart. When every fact in the history, and every trait in the character, of our country's Deliverer, that is within your reach, has become familiar to you, you have still done nothing to purpose, if all this is to serve no higher end than to furnish materials for curious speculation, or to furnish occasion for an ostentatious display of your knowledge. You must take up and inwardly digest with the moral what has come to you through the intellectual. You must let the great man come into your heart, and maintain a sort of empire among your affections. In short, you must feel that you are studying the character as a model, and must never rest contented while there remains in it anything of attainable excellence, which has not become engrafted upon your own character.

Where now is the man, where especially is the American citizen, to whom the study of the character of Washington is not a most fitting employment? May not the military man study it, to learn the nature and the operations of true heroism? May not the politician study it, that he may not confound the statesman with the demagogue, the patriot with the partisan? May not the private citizen study it, that he may become more deeply im-

pressed with the dignity of civil government, and more earnest in the discharge of the duties which he owes to it? Especially may not, ought not, every young man to study it, as a fountain of light upon the path of his duty, as a fountain of strength to enable him to walk in it? It is with this latter class that I am now specially concerned; and I doubt not that the young men composing the association which I have the honor to address, will pardon me, if, in the few remarks which I am now to make, illustrative of the importance of studying this exalted character, I speak directly to *them,* as if they were the authorized representatives of the whole body of young men within the limits of this republic.

I say then, gentlemen, it is due to self-regard, that Washington's character be as familiar to you as the face of a friend, as dear to you as your country's honor. Are you not the admirers of true greatness? Does not the man of cultivated powers, and lofty aims, and heroic deeds, find favor in your eyes? When you think of such a man, with a character bright as the light, and a conscience void of offence; honored in his life, honored in his death, honored in his memory; are you not constrained to say that to be like him is to be all that the noblest ambition can crave? Believe me, in studying Washington as a model, you are in the way to the attainment of this object. In the contemplation of his moderation and self-government, his firmness and dignity, his justice and generosity, his reverence for the divine authority, his trust in the divine providence, his hearty acknowledgment of the divine testimony, you are brought

directly into communion with the spirit of true greatness and goodness; and if prejudice or passion does not intervene, that spirit will work within you both to will and to do. I say again, study this character, as you would accomplish the legitimate end of your existence. Study it, as you would be virtuous and useful, honorable and happy.

Patriotism also lifts up *her* voice, and charges you to put yourselves into communion with this greatest of patriots. Your country's institutions, in all their delicate and complicated machinery, and in all the responsibility that pertains to them, are about to be surrendered to your guardianship. The great minds that are laboring for them now will quickly have done their work; the great hearts that are beating to their prosperity will be cold beneath the turf; and this whole acting generation will be moving in other spheres and mingling in other scenes; but you and such as you will be here, to speak and act, and if need be, to suffer, for their defence and preservation. Who knows what tempests may rise and beat upon the nation in your day;—especially what lightning and hail may come forth from that dark cloud which has been so long hanging in our Southern sky? Who can tell what exigencies may arise either from our domestic or foreign relations, to require the most profound wisdom, the most invincible firmness? Who can assure you that you may not have to meet some awful crisis, in which the life or the death of the nation's liberty, shall be decided by a single measure or a single vote? Oh if I could know that you would not only be familiar with the life but imbued

with the spirit of Washington, I should know that you would be adequate to any emergency; I should feel that there was nothing to fear for the safety of my country's institutions, even in the darkest times. For you could not sit at Washington's feet and take counsel of his wisdom, you could not get your hearts beating in unison with *his* great and patriotic heart, you could not keep his venerable image always before your eye, without having both the mind and the will to protect and transmit the inheritance which he hath bequeathed to us. Only let his farewell address be engraven on the memory and the heart of the young men of the nation, and till they shall have gone to their graves at least, there will be a wall of fire round about our liberties, which will be proof alike against treason and faction at home, and jealousy and tyranny abroad.

Philanthropy too has a word to say in favor of the duty which I am urging; for Washington's patriotism was not at the expense of his philanthropy; it was consistent with it; it was even a part of it. He loved his country not merely because it had furnished his cradle and he expected it would furnish his grave, but because he saw that it was destined to be a mighty theater of humanity; and that whatever was done for it, was done for the improvement and elevation of the race. Here was indeed the only field in which he directly labored; but his benevolent wishes, aye and his benign influence, compassed the world. Instead of desiring a selfish monopoly of the blessings of freedom, it was his prayer that every nation might be as free and happy as his own. In his devout

aspirations, he stopped nothing short of the universal reign of truth and peace and virtue.

In the sacred name of Philanthropy, let me say, Go ye and do likewise. Do you ask, Where? I answer, the world is your field. Wherever there is ignorance to be enlightened, wherever there is vice to be reclaimed, wherever there are chains to be knocked off, wherever there are tears to be wiped away, wherever the body or the spirit is in want, there, there is appropriate work for you. And if you require that I should be more particular still, I would say, join with hearty and vigorous co-operation in the struggle against the monster intemperance, which is still abroad, blasting hopes and multiplying graves and leaving the impress of the brute upon the noblest forms of humanity. Not only banish him from your society, but if you can, kill him, and hide his loathsome carcass where the world shall never look upon it again; and if you succeed in this, you will have set a large proportion of earth's stricken hearts to throbbing for joy. And as I have mentioned one field of philanthropic labor, I may as well mention another;—for who can forget, in such a connection as this, poor starving Ireland? The sun does not shine upon a nation more instinct with generous feeling; nor upon one which, at this hour, has a fuller cup of anguish wrung out to her. Her sufferings are so deep that the whole world is obliged to take knowledge of them; her groans so piercing that we seem to hear them from across the sea, mingling with the winds that come from that enchanting but unfortunate island, that beautiful dwelling-place of want and wretchedness. Fly, ye young men, to the work of mercy. Fly to

that frenzied mother before she does the desperate deed to the child which she is pressing to her bosom; whose cries for bread she is unable to satisfy; and rather than endure them much longer, she is fast working herself up to stifle them in death. Fly to that old man who has looked on every side for a morsel to sustain him, and because no hand is reached forth for his succor, he is making ready to stretch himself on a rough board for his final slumber. Fly, by your grateful charities, all over that extended territory in which famine has set up her dominion, and see how those warm hearts will cling to you, and those wo-worn countenances be relumed with smiles, when they understand your mission as angels come to help. Young men, I know that ye cannot stand aloof from this work. Many of you, I believe, are doing it already; and I am sure that you will do it with the greater alacrity, when you remember that it is just the work upon which Washington would have smiled.

I will detain you only to say that to refuse to study Washington's character, is to be unjust to his memory; nay, it is to turn away from the teachings of a wise and merciful Providence. You may be in danger of overlooking the obligation, because you share it with the country at large; but, believe me, you are as truly and as deeply indebted, as if the wing of his favor had been stretched over you alone;—nay even more so,—for your own interests are the more secure from being identified with these great institutions which involve the interests of so many. And besides, you have facilities hereby secured to you for laboring for the common good, which a generous mind surely will not reckon among the least of its blessings. Is

it so then, that Washington's life has been a free-will offering to the safety and dignity of the country to which you belong? Has he fought battles and won victories for *you?* Has he projected great plans of national improvement, that you might be the better for them? Has he left on record words of wisdom and of weight, that you might be instructed by them? In a word, is he, by way of eminence, the Father of your country? Say then, if gratitude be due to a benefactor, what should be the measure of your gratitude to him. And can there be a more appropriate expression of it, than the earnest and practical contemplation of the life which he led, of the character which he formed, in his devotion to American liberty? Besides, if you consider this matter well, you are obliged to feel that a greater than Washington is here. Washington's country commissioned him to his work; but God gave him to his country. God constituted him with those noble endowments; and ordained all the influences by which his character was formed; and opened his way to every place of authority which he occupied; and guided him, as by a pillar of cloud and of fire, in all his movements. Heaven's wisdom was in his counsels; Heaven's might was in his arm; Heaven's goodness was in his heart; and in all that constitutes his character, there is a voice from Heaven, challenging your earnest regard. Am I not justified then in saying that, in refusing to study this great character, you offend against the memory of Washington; you offend against the mercy of God?

But you will not thus offend,—I know you will not; and one pledge of it I read in the spirit which hath instituted

this evening's service. It was a noble impulse, Mr. President, that led you and your associates in the direction of this institution, to look forward to this glorious birthday, months before it dawned upon us, and to resolve that it should be hallowed by some mark of appropriate and grateful recognition. If I might be allowed to express a wish, it would be that the example you have so laudably set, should be followed in all coming years; that this twenty-second day of February should hereafter be marked in your calendar as a day for gratitude and gladness; and that, in each successive return, it should be consecrated by some lofty purpose of patriotism or philanthropy. Such an observance would be at once a beautiful offering to the memory of Washington, a welcome service to these free institutions, and a glorious testimony to the world.

Gentlemen, I will detain you no longer. I wish I could have spoken to you more impressively on this great theme; but I have endeavored at least to speak words of truth and soberness. I implore the Dispenser of all good to give you a place among your country's best benefactors; to exalt you to become polished stones in the temple of universal freedom. I invoke especially the genius of American liberty to smile upon you,—that bright angel that was rocked in Washington's cradle, and that now watches around his tomb.

INTRODUCTION.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

A SOLICITUDE for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a People . . These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. . . .

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some

occasional good; that they may now and then recur, to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude of your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES:
September 17th, 1796.

I.

POLITICAL MAXIMS.

If we look over the catalogue of the first magistrates of nations, whether they have been denominated Presidents or Consuls, Kings or Princes, where shall we find one, whose commanding talents and virtues, whose overruling good fortune, have so completely united all hearts and voices in his favor? who enjoyed the esteem and admiration of foreign nations, and fellow-citizens, with equal unanimity? Qualities so uncommon are no common blessings to the country that possesses them. By these great qualities, and their benign effects, has Providence marked out the Head of this Nation, with a hand so distinctly visible, as to have been seen by all men, and mistaken by none. JOHN ADAMS, 1789.

His example is complete; and it will teach wisdom and virtue to Magistrates, Citizens, and Men, not only in the present age, but in future generations. JOHN ADAMS, 1799.

The only man in the United States, who possessed the confidence of all. There was no other one, who was considered as any thing more than a party leader.

The whole of his character was in its mass perfect, in nothing bad, in a few points indifferent. And it may be truly said, that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great, and to place him in the same constellation with whatever worthies have merited from man an everlasting remembrance.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

POLITICAL MAXIMS.

I. GOVERNMENT.

This great man fought against tyranny; he established the liberty of his country. His memory will always be dear to the French people, as it will be to all freemen of the two worlds.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,
Feb. 9th, 1800.

THE END OF GOVERNMENT.

The aggregate happiness of society, which is best promoted by the practice of a virtuous policy, is, or ought to be, the end of all Government.

Influence is not *Government.*

Let us have a *Government*, by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured.

POLITICAL INFALLIBILITY.

If any power on earth could, or the Great Power above would, erect a standard of Infallibility, in political opinions, there is no being that inhabits the terrestrial globe, that would resort to it with more eagerness than myself, so long as I remain a servant of the public. But as I have found no better guide hitherto, than upright intentions and close investigation, I shall adhere to those maxims, while I keep the watch; leaving it to those who will come after me, to explore new ways, if they like or think them better.

THE RIGHT OF A NATION TO ESTABLISH ITS OWN GOVERNMENT.

My politics are plain and simple. I think every nation has a right to establish that Form of Government under which it conceives it may live most happy; provided it infracts no right, or is not dangerous to others; and that no governments ought to interfere with the internal concerns of another, except for the security of what is due to themselves.

NATIONAL REVOLUTIONS.

The *rapidity* of national revolutions appears no less astonishing than their *magnitude*. In what they

will terminate, is known only to the Great Ruler of events ; and, confiding in His wisdom and goodness, we may safely trust the issue to Him, without perplexing ourselves to seek for that which is beyond our ken ; only taking care to perform the parts assigned to us, in a way that reason and our own consciences approve.

POLITICAL IMPROVEMENTS IN EUROPE.

A spirit for political improvement, seems to be rapidly and extensively spreading through the European countries. I shall rejoice in seeing the condition of the human race happier than ever it has hitherto been. But I shall be sorry to see, that those who are for prematurely accelerating those improvements, were making more haste than good speed, in their innovations.

Born in a land of liberty ; having early learned its value ; having engaged in the perilous conflict to defend it ; having, in a word, devoted the best years of my life to secure its permanent establishment in my own country ; my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes are irresistibly attracted, whensoever *in any country* I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

My greatest fear has been, that the nation would not be sufficiently cool and moderate, in making arrangements for the *security* of that liberty of which it seems to be possessed. 1790.

ANARCHY AND TYRANNY.

There is a natural and necessary progression, from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny; and arbitrary power is most easily established, on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

REPUBLICANISM.

Republicanism is not the phantom of a deluded imagination. On the contrary, laws, under no form of government, are better supported, liberty and property better secured, or happiness more effectually dispensed to mankind.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

That the Government, though not actually perfect, is one of the best in the world, I have little doubt.

DEMOCRACY.

It is among the evils, and perhaps not the smallest, of Democratical Governments, that the people must *feel*, before they will *see*. When this happens, they are roused to action. Hence it is, that those kinds of government are so slow.

EVILS OF DEMOCRACY.

It is one of the evils of Democratical Governments, that the people, not always seeing, and frequently misled, must often *feel* before they can *act* right; but then evils of this nature seldom fail to work their own cure.

MONARCHY.

I am fully of opinion, that those who lean to a Monarchial Government have either not consulted the public mind, or that they live in a region, which, (the levelling principles in which they were bred being entirely eradicated,) is much more productive of monarchial ideas, than is the case in the Southern States, where, from the habitual distinctions which have always existed among the people, one would have expected the first generation, and the most rapid growth, of them.

I am told, that even respectable characters speak of a *Monarchial* Form of Government, without horror. From thinking proceeds *speaking;* thence to *acting* is often but a single step. But, how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies to verify their predictions! What a triumph for the advocates of Despotism, to find, that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty, are merely ideal and fallacious! 1786.

It is a little strange, that the men of large property in the *South*, should be more afraid that the Constitution will produce an Aristocracy or a Monarchy, than the genuine democratical people of the *East.* 1788.

NOBILITY AND KNIGHTHOOD.

It appears to be incompatible with the principles of our national Constitution, to admit the introduction of any kind of Nobility, Knighthood, or distinctions of a similar nature, amongst the citizens of our republic.

HERALDRY AND REPUBLICANISM.

It is far from my design to intimate an opinion, that Heraldry, Coat-armor, &c., might not be ren-

dered conducive to public and private uses with us; or that they can have any tendency unfriendly to the purest spirit of Republicanism. On the contrary, a different conclusion is deducible from the practice of Congress, and the States; all of which have established some kind of *Armorial Devices*, to authenticate their official instruments.

II. LIBERTY.

Give me leave, my dear General, to present you with a picture of the Bastille, just as it looked a few days after I had ordered its demolition,—with *the main key* of the fortress of despotism. It is a tribute, which I owe, as a son to my adoptive father, as an Aid-de-camp to my General, as a Missionary of liberty to its Patriarch.

LAFAYETTE, *March* 17, 1790.

CIVIL LIBERTY.

Liberty, when it begins to take root, is a plant of rapid growth.

—

The political state of affairs in France, seems to be in a delicate situation. What will be the issue, is not easy to determine ; but the spirit which is diffusing itself, may produce changes in that government, which, a few years ago, could hardly have been dreamt of.

—

The American Revolution, or *the peculiar light of the age*, seems to have opened the eyes of almost every nation in Europe.

A spirit of equal liberty appears fast to be gaining ground every where ; which must afford satisfaction to every friend of mankind.

—

If we mean to support the liberty and independence, which it has cost as so much blood and treasure to establish, we must drive far away the demon of party spirit and local reproach.

—

Should the conduct of the Americans, whilst promoting their own happiness, influence the feelings of other nations, and thereby render a service to mankind, they will receive a double pleasure.

—

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of our hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary, to fortify or confirm the attachment.

—

None of them* will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges, which are essential to the happiness of every free State, without which, life, liberty, and property are rendered totally insecure.

—

In a government as free as ours, where the people are at liberty, and will express their sentiments, (oftentimes imprudently, and, for want of information, sometimes unjustly,) allowances must be made for occa-

* The Colonies.

sional effervescences ; but, after the declaration which I have made of my political creed, you can run no hazard in asserting, that the Executive branch of this government never has suffered, nor will suffer while I preside, any improper conduct of its officers to escape with impunity, nor give its sanction to any disorderly proceedings of its citizens.

THE CAUSE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

If historiographers should be hardy enough, to fill the page of history with the advantages that have been gained, with unequal numbers, on the part of America in the course of this contest, and attempt to relate the distressing circumstances under which they have been obtained, it is more than probable, that posterity will bestow on their labors the epithet and marks of *fiction ;* for it will not be believed, that such a force as Great Britain has employed, for eight years, in this country, could be baffled in their plan of subjugating it, by numbers infinitely less, composed of men oftentimes half starved, always in rags, without pay, and experiencing, at times, every species of distress which human nature is capable of undergoing. 1783.

Great Britain thought, she was only to hold up the rod, and all would be hushed.

When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favorable manner in which it has terminated, we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing.

This is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as the source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves, on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or a moral point of light.

The rights of mankind, the privileges of the people, and the true principles of liberty, seem to have been more generally discussed, and better understood, throughout Europe, since the American Revolution, than they were at any former period.

THE SPIRIT OF THE REVOLUTION.

The value of liberty was enhanced in our estimation, by the difficulty of its attainment, and the worth of character appreciated by the trial of adversity. The tempest of war having at length been succeeded by the sunshine of peace, our citizen-soldiers impressed a useful lesson of patriotism on mankind, by nobly re-

turning, with impaired constitutions and unsatisfied claims, after such long sufferings and severe disappointments, to their former occupations. Posterity, as well as the present age, will doubtless regard, with admiration and gratitude, the patience, perseverance and valor, which achieved our Revolution. They will cherish the remembrance of virtues which had but few parallels in former times, and which will add new lustre to the most splendid page of history.

I concur with the legislature in repeating, with pride and joy, what will be an everlasting honor to our country, that our Revolution was so distinguished for moderation, virtue, and humanity, as to merit the eulogium they have pronounced, of its being *unsullied with a crime.*

FALSE AND CRUEL POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Great Britain understood herself perfectly well, in this dispute, but did not comprehend America.

She meant, as Lord Camden clearly and explicitly declared,* to drive America into rebellion, that her own purposes might be more fully answered by it. But take this along with it, that this plan originated in a firm belief, founded on misinformation, that no effectual opposition would or could be made. They

* 1777.

little dreamt of what has happened, and are disappointed in their views.

Does not every act of Administration, from the Tea Act to the present session of Parliament, declare this, in plain and self-evident characters? Had the Commissioners any powers to treat with America? If they meant peace, would Lord Howe have been detained in England five months after passing the act? Would the powers of these Commissioners have been confined to *mere acts of grace*, upon condition of *absolute submission?* No! surely no! They meant to drive us into what they termed *rebellion*, that they might be furnished with a pretext to disarm, and then strip us of the rights and privileges of Englishmen and citizens.

If they were actuated by the principles of justice, why did they refuse, indignantly, to accede to the terms which were humbly supplicated before hostilities commenced, and this country was deluged in blood; and now make their principal officers, and even the Commissioners themselves, say, that these terms are just and reasonable; nay, that more will be granted than we have yet asked, if we will relinquish our claim to *independency?*

What name does such conduct as this deserve? And what punishment is there in store for the men who have distressed millions, involved thousands in ruin, and plunged numberless families in inextricable woe? Could that which is just and reasonable *now*, have been unjust *four years ago?*

They must either be wantonly wicked and cruel, or, (which is only another mode of describing the same thing,) under false colors are now endeavoring to deceive the great body of the people, by industriously propagating a belief, that *Great Britain* is willing to *offer* ANY terms, and that *we* will *accept* NONE; thereby hoping to poison and disaffect the minds of those who wish for peace, and to create feuds and dissensions among ourselves.

In a word, having less dependence now in their arms than their arts, they are practising such low and dirty tricks, that men of sentiment and honor must blush at their fall.

Among other manœuvres in this way, they are forging letters, and publishing them as intercepted ones of mine, to prove that I am an enemy to the present measures, and have been led into them, step by step, still hoping that Congress would recede from their claims. 1778.

THE STAMP ACT: ITS PASSAGE CONDEMNED.

The Stamp Act, imposed on the colonies by the Parliament of Great Britain, engrosses the conversation of the speculative part of the colonists, who look upon this unconstitutional method of taxation, as a direful attack upon their liberties, and loudly exclaim against the violation.

What may be the result of this, and of some other

(I think I may add ill-judged) measures, I will not undertake to determine; but this I may venture to affirm, that the advantage accruing to the mother-country will fall greatly short of the expectations of the ministry; for certain it is, that our whole substance already in a manner flows to Great Britain, and that whatsoever contributes to lessen our importations must be hurtful to our manufactures. The eyes of our people already begin to be opened; and they will perceive, that many *luxuries*, for which we lavish our substance in Great Britain, can well be dispensed with, while the *necessaries* of life are mostly to be had within ourselves. This, consequently, will introduce frugality, and be a necessary incitement to industry.

If Great Britain loads her manufactures with heavy taxes, will it not facilitate such results? They will not compel us, I think, to give our money for their exports, whether we will or not. And I am certain, that none of their traders will part with them, without a valuable consideration. Where, then, is the utility of these restrictions?

—

As to the Stamp Act, regarded in a single view, one and the first bad consequence attending it, is, that our courts of judicature must inevitably be shut up; for it is impossible, or next to impossible, under our present circumstances, that the act of Parliament can be complied with, were we ever so willing to enforce its execution. And, not to say (which alone would be sufficient) that we have not money to pay

for the stamps, there are many other cogent reasons which prove, that it would be ineffectual.

If a stop be put to our judicial proceedings, I fancy the merchants of Great Britain, trading to the colonies, will not be among the last to wish for a *repeal* of the act. 1765.

THE STAMP ACT: ITS REPEAL.

Those who were instrumental in procuring the repeal of the act, are, in my opinion, deservedly entitled to the thanks of the well-wishers to Britain and her colonies; and must reflect with pleasure, that, through their means, many scenes of confusion and distress have been prevented. Mine they accordingly have, and always shall have, for their opposition to any act of oppression; and that act could be looked upon in no other light, by every person who would view it in its proper colors. 1767.

The repeal of the Stamp Act, to whatever cause owing, ought much to be rejoiced at, for, had the Parliament of Great Britain resolved upon enforcing it, the consequences, I conceive, would have been more direful than is generally apprehended, both to the mother-country and her colonies. All, therefore, who were instrumental in procuring the repeal, are entitled to the thanks of every British subject, and have mine cordially.

TAXATION.

I would heartily join in an humble and dutiful petition to the throne, provided there was the most distant hope of success. But have we not tried this, already? Have we not addressed the Lords, and remonstrated to the Commons? And to what end? Did they deign to look at our petitions?

—

Does it not appear, as clear as the sun in meridian brightness, that there is a regular, systematic plan formed, to fix *the right and practice of taxation* upon us? Does not the uniform conduct of Parliament, for some years past, confirm this? Do not all the debates, especially those just brought to us, in the House of Commons, on the side of government, expressly declare, that America must be taxed in aid of British funds, and that she has no longer resources within herself?

Is there any thing to be expected from petitioning, after this? Is not the attack upon the *liberty and property* of the people of Boston, before restitution of the loss to the India Company was demanded, a plain and self-evident proof of what they are aiming at? Do not the subsequent bills, (now, I dare say, acts), for depriving Massachusetts Bay of its charter, and for transporting offenders into other colonies or to Great Britain, for trial, where it is impossible, from the nature of the thing, that justice

can be obtained, convince us, that the Administration is determined to stick at nothing, to carry its point? Ought we not, then, to put our virtue and fortitude to the severest test? 1774.

I think it folly, to attempt more than we can execute, as that will not only bring disgrace upon us, but weaken our cause; yet I think we may do more than is generally believed, in respect to the non-importation scheme.

As to the withholding our remittances, that is another point, in which I own I have my doubts on several accounts, but principally on that of justice; for I think, whilst we are accusing others of injustice, we should be just, ourselves; and how this can be, whilst we owe a considerable debt, and refuse payment of it, to Great Britain, is to me inconceivable. Nothing but the last extremity, I think, can justify it. Whether this is now come, is the question.

TAXATION, A QUESTION OF RIGHT AND HONOR.

What is it we are contending against? Is it against paying the duty of three pence per pound on tea, because burdensome? No; it is the *right* only, that we have all along disputed.

If, then, as the fact really is, it is against the *right* of taxation that we now do, and, as I before said, all along have contended, why should they sup-

pose an exertion of this power would be less obnoxious now than formerly? And what reason have we to believe that they would make a second attempt, whilst the same sentiments fill the breast of every American, if they did not intend to enforce it, if possible?

—

I think, the Parliament of Great Britain have no more right to put their hands into *my* pocket, without my consent, than I have to put my hands into *yours*. This being already urged to them, in a firm but decent manner, by all the colonies, what reason is there to expect any thing from their justice?

—

I should much distrust my own judgment, upon the occasion, if my nature did not recoil at the thought of submitting to measures which I think subversive of every thing that I ought to hold dear and valuable, and did I not find, at the same time, that the voice of mankind is with me. 1774.

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An innate spirit of freedom first told me, that the measures which the Administration have, for some time, been, and now are, most violently pursuing, are opposed to every principle of natural justice; whilst much abler heads than my own have fully convinced me, that they are not only repugnant to natural right, but subversive of the laws and constitution of Great Britain itself, in the establishment of which some of the best blood in the kingdom has been spilt.

LORD NORTH'S BILLS.

The drafts of bills which have since passed into accounts of British legislation, are so strongly marked with folly and villainy, that one can scarcely tell which predominates, or how to be surprised at any act of a British minister.

This last trite performance of Master North's, is neither more nor less than an insult to common sense, and shows to what extremity of folly wicked men, in a bad cause, are sometimes driven; for this "rude Boreas," who was to bring America to his feet, knew, at the time of drafting these bills, or had good reason to believe, that a treaty had actually been signed between the Court of France and the United States. By what rule of common sense, then, he could expect that such an undisguised artifice would go down in America, I cannot conceive.

Thanks to Heaven, the tables are turned; and we, I hope, shall have our Independence secured, in its fullest extent, without cringing to this Son of Thunder, who, I am persuaded, will find abundant work for his troops, elsewhere; on which happy prospect I sincerely congratulate every friend of American liberty. 1778.

III. INDEPENDENCE

In war, your fame is immortal as the hero of liberty. In peace, you are the patron and the firmest supporter of her rights. Your greatest admirers, and even your best friends, have now but one wish left for you: that you may long enjoy health and your present happiness. PAUL JONES, *Letter*, Dec. 20, '89.

THE CAUSE OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

Our cause is noble. It is the cause of mankind; and the danger to it is to be apprehended from ourselves. Shall we slumber and sleep, then, while we should be punishing those miscreants who have brought these troubles upon us, and who are aiming to continue us in them; while we should be striving to fill our battalions, and devising ways and means to raise the value of the currency, on the credit of which every thing depends? I hope not.

—

I trust, the goodness of the cause, and the exertions of the people, and Divine protection, will give us that honorable peace for which we are contending.

The favorable disposition of Spain, the promised succor from France, the combined force in the West Indies, the declaration of Russia, (acceded to by other governments of Europe, and humiliating to the naval pride and power of Great Britain,) the superiority of France and Spain, by sea in Europe, the Irish claims and English disturbances, formed in the aggregate an opinion in my breast, which is not very susceptible of peaceful dreams, that the hour of deliverance was not far distant ; since, however unwilling Great Britain might be, to yield the point, it would not be in her power to continue the contest. But, alas ! these prospects, flattering as they were, have proved delusory, and I see nothing before us but accumulating distress.

—

We must not despair ; the game is yet in our own hands ; to play it well is all we have to do. And I trust, the experience of error will enable us to act better in future. A cloud may yet pass over us ; individuals may be ruined, and the country at large, or particular States, undergo temporary distress ; but certain I am, that it is in our power to bring the war to a happy conclusion. 1781.

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I am very happy to be informed, by accounts from all parts of the continent, of the agreeable prospect of a very plentiful supply of almost all the productions of the earth. Blessed as we are with the bounties of Providence, necessary for our support and de-

fence, the fault must surely be our own ; and great indeed will it be, if we do not, by a proper use of them, obtain the noble prize for which we have so long been contending, the establishment of liberty, peace, and independence. 1781.

THE COMMON WEAL.

It appears as clear to me as ever the sun did in its meridian brightness, that America never stood in more eminent need of the wise, patriotic, and spirited exertions of her sons, than at this period. And if it is not a sufficient cause for general lamentation, my misconception of the matter impresses it too strongly upon me, that the States, separately, are too much engaged in their local concerns, and have too many of their ablest men withdrawn from the General Council, for the good of the common weal.

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I think, our Political System may be compared to the mechanism of a clock, and we should derive a lesson from it ; for it answers no good purpose to keep the smaller wheels in order, if the greater one, which is the support and prime mover of the whole, is neglected.

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As there can be no harm in a pious wish for the good of one's country, I shall offer it as mine, that each State would not only choose, but absolutely com-

pel, their ablest men to attend Congress, and that they would instruct them to go into a thorough investigation of the causes, that have produced so many disagreeable effects, in the army and country ; in a word, that public abuses should be corrected.

INDEPENDENCE, WON.

A contemplation of the complete attainment, (at a period earlier than could have been expected,) of the object for which we contended against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude.

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The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The singular interpositions of Providence in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving ; while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

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It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description. 1783.

The foundation of a great empire is laid ; and I please myself with the persuasion, that Providence will not leave its work imperfect. 1786.

The establishment of our new government, seemed to be the last great experiment, for promoting human happiness by a reasonable compact in civil society. It was to be, in the first instance, in a considerable degree, a *government of accommodation*, as well as a government of laws. 1790.

MOMENTOUS INFLUENCE OF THE REVOLUTION.

The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the Republican Model of government, are justly considered, as deeply, perhaps as finally staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

SITUATION AND PROSPECTS OF THE COUNTRY.

The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency.

They are, from this period, to be considered as the

actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for *the display of human greatness and felicity.*

Here they are not only surrounded with every thing which can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment, but Heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a fairer opportunity for *political happiness*, than any other nation has ever been favored with.

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The foundation of our empire was not laid in the gloomy age of ignorance and superstition ; but at an epoch, when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period. The researches of the human mind after social happiness, have been carried to a great extent ; the treasures of knowledge, acquired by the labors of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for our use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied, in the establishment of our forms of government. The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above all, the pure and benign light of Revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period, the United States came into existence as a nation ; and, if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own. 1783.

IV. THE CONSTITUTION.

He did the two greatest things which, in politics, man can have the privilege of attempting. He maintained, by peace, that independence of his country, which he had acquired by war. He founded a free government, in the name of the principles of order, and by re-establishing their sway. M. GUIZOT.

CHOICE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

We exhibit the novel and astonishing spectacle of a whole people, deliberating calmly on what Form of Government will be most conducive to their happiness; and deciding, with an unexpected degree of unanimity, in favor of a system which they conceive calculated to answer the purpose.

THE FOUR PILLARS OF INDEPENDENCE.

There are four things, which, I humbly conceive, are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

First. An indissoluble Union of the States under One Federal Head.

Second. A sacred regard to Public Justice.

Third. The adoption of a proper Peace Establishment.

Fourth. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and politics ; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity ; and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

These are the pillars, on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported.

Liberty is the basis. And whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration, and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.

IMPORTANCE OF THE FEDERAL UNION.

Unless the States will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the Constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion.

It is indispensable to the happiness of the individ-

ual States, that there should be lodged somewhere a Supreme Power, to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the Union cannot be of long duration.

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There must be a faithful and pointed compliance, on the part of every State, with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue.

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Whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the Union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independency of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly.

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Unless we can be enabled, by the concurrence of the States, to participate the fruits of the Revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the Articles of Confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished to no purpose, that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. 1793.

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It is only in our *united* character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power

can be regarded, or our credit supported, among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America, will have no validity, on the dissolution of the Union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature; or we may find, by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny, and that arbitrary power is most easily established upon the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

The UNITY of government which constitutes you *one* people, is now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortunes, against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively, (though often covertly and insidiously,) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your NATIONAL UNION, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it, as a Palladium of your political safety

and prosperity ; watching for its preservation, with jealous anxiety ; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned ; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts. 1796.

AMERICANS, UNITED IN SYMPATHY AND INTEREST.

Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections.

The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNION, OUR INTEREST.

Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of the maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted.

The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and, in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its productions, to the weight, influence, and future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as ONE NATION. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

THE POWER OF THE UNION.

While *every part* of our country feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, *all the parts combined* cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from the Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican liberty.

In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your Liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

THE EXTENT OF THE UNION.

Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve

it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

CAUSES OF DISTURBANCE OF THE UNION.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished, for characterizing parties by *Geographical* discriminations, "Northern" and "Southern," "Atlantic" and "Western;" whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings, which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection.

The inhabitants of our Western Country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen, in a negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof, how unfounded were the suspicions, propagated among them, of a policy in the General Government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi ; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to any foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom, to rely, for the preservation of these advantages, on the Union by which they were procured ? Will they not, henceforth, be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens ?

UNION, NOT MERE ALLIANCE.

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a *Government for the Whole* is indispensable. No *alliances*, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute ; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances in all times have experienced.

Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns.

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This Government, this offspring of our choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the *fundamental maxims of Liberty.*

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The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all.

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The very idea of the power and *the right of the people to establish* Government, presupposes *the duty of every individual to obey* the established Government.

FACTION.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of the fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force ; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community ; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations and associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government ; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

INNOVATION.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of Innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts.

One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown.

In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember, that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing Constitution of the country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion. And remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find, in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian.

It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the securest tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

SPIRIT OF PARTY.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed ; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual ; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils, and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms ; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection.

It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus, the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

ALLEGED BENEFIT OF PARTIES.

There is an opinion, that Parties, in free governments, are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty.

This, within certain limits, is probably true ; and in governments of a Monarchial cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain, there will always be enough of that spirit, for every salutary purpose. And, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance

to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume. 1796.

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It is devoutly to be wished, that faction was at an end ; and that those to whom every thing dear and valuable is intrusted, would lay aside party views, and return to first principles. Happy, happy, thrice happy country, if such were the government of it ! But, alas, we are not to expect, that the path is to be strowed with flowers. That Great Good Being who rules the universe, has disposed matters otherwise, and for wise purposes, I am persuaded. 1778.

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I am under more apprehensions on account of our own dissensions, than of the efforts of the enemy.

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Unanimity in our councils, disinterestedness in our pursuits, and steady perseverance in our national duty, are the only means to avoid misfortunes. If they come upon us after these, we shall have the consolation of knowing, that we have done our best. The rest is with God.

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The hour is certainly come, when party disputes and dissensions should subside ; when every man, especially those in office, should, with hand and heart, pull the same way, and with their whole strength.

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Providence has done, and, I am persuaded, is disposed to do, a great deal for us ; but we are not to forget the fable of Jupiter and the countryman.

USURPATION.

It is important, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another.

The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this proposition.

The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern ; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them.

If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by *Usurpation ;* for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good,

it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

SUPREME IMPORTANCE OF THE FEDERAL UNION.

Notwithstanding the cup of blessing is reached to us; notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion and make it our own; yet, it appears to me, there is an option still left to the United States of America; that it is in their choice, and depends upon their conduct; whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable, as a nation. This is the time of their *political probation.* This is the moment, when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them. This is the moment, to establish or ruin their National Character for ever. This is the formidable moment, to give *such a tone to our Federal Government,* as will enable it to answer *the ends of its institution.* Or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the Confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one State against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes.

According to the system of policy the States shall adopt, this moment, they will stand or fall; and by their confirmation or lapse it is yet to be decided, whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse; a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with *our* fate will the destiny of *unborn millions* be involved. 1783.

RECIPROCITY.

There must be Reciprocity, or no Union. Which of the two is preferable, will not become a question in the mind of any true patriot. 1787.

POWERS OF CONGRESS.

The fear of giving sufficient powers to Congress, is futile. Each Assembly, under its present constitution, will be annihilated, and we must once more return to the government of Great Britain, and be made to kiss the rod preparing for our correction. A *nominal head*, which, at present, is but another name for Congress, will no longer do.

That honorable body, after hearing the interests and views of the several States fairly discussed and explained by their respective representatives, must *dictate*, and not merely *recommend*, and leave it to the

States afterwards to do as they please, which is, in many cases, to do nothing at all.

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Unless the principles of the Federal Government are properly supported, and the powers of the Union increased, the honor, dignity, and justice of the nation will be lost for ever.

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To me it is a solecism in politics, indeed it is one of the most extraordinary things in nature, that we should confederate as a Nation, and yet be afraid to give the Rulers of that nation, (who are the creatures of our own making, appointed for a limited and short duration, and who are amenable for every action, and may be recalled at any moment, and are subject to all the evils which they may be instrumental in producing,) sufficient powers to order and direct the affairs of the same. By such policy as this, the wheels of government are clogged, and our brightest prospects, and that high expectation which was entertained of us by the wondering world, are turned into astonishment; and, from our high ground on which we stood, we are descending into the vale of confusion and darkness.

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With joy I once beheld my country, feeling the liveliest sense of her rights, and maintaining them with a spirit apportioned to their worth. With joy I have seen all the wise men of Europe looking on her with admiration, and all the good with hope, that her fair example would regenerate the old world, and re-

store the blessings of equal government to long oppressed humanity. But, alas! in place of maintaining this glorious attitude, America is herself rushing into disorder and dissolution.

We have powers sufficient for self-defence and glory, but those powers are not exerted. For fear Congress should abuse it, the people will not trust their power to Congress. Foreigners insult and injure us with impunity; for Congress has no power to chastise them. Ambitious men stir up insurrections; Congress possesses no power to coerce them. Public creditors call for their money; Congress has no power to collect it. In short, we cannot long subsist as a nation, without lodging somewhere a power, that may command the full energies of the nation, for defence against all its enemies, and for the supply of all its wants.

The people will soon be tired of such a government. They will sigh for a change; and many of them already begin to talk of Monarchy, without horror.

We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature, in forming our Confederation.

Experience has taught us, that men will not adopt and carry into execution measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of a coercive power.

THE UNION, OUR SAFETY.

Common danger brought the States into confederacy; and on their Union our safety and importance depend.

SPIRIT OF ACCOMMODATION.

A spirit of accommodation was the basis of the present Constitution. 1790.

NATIONAL INFLUENCE.

It should be the highest ambition of every American, to extend his views beyond himself, and to bear in mind, that his conduct will not only affect himself, his country, and his immediate posterity, but that its influence may be co-extensive with the world, and stamp political happiness or misery on ages yet unborn. To establish this desirable end, and to establish the government of laws, the Union of these States is absolutely necessary. Therefore, in every proceeding, this great, this important object should ever be kept in view; and, so long as our measures tend to this, and are marked with the wisdom of a well-informed and enlightened people, we may reasonably hope, under the smiles of Heaven, to convince the world, that the happiness of nations can be accomplished by pacific revolutions in

their political systems, without the destructive intervention of the sword.

THE CONSTITUTION; UNANIMITY OF ITS ADOPTION.

The various and opposite interests which were to be conciliated, the local prejudices which were to be subdued, the diversity of opinions and sentiments which were to be reconciled, and, in fine, the sacrifices which were necessary to be made, on all sides, for the general welfare, combined to make it a work of so intricate and difficult a nature, that I think it is much to be wondered at, that any thing could have been produced with such unanimity, as the Constitution proposed. 1787.

THE CONSTITUTION OR DISUNION.

I do most firmly believe, that, in the aggregate, it is the best Constitution that can be obtained at this epoch; and that this, or a dissolution of the Union awaits our choice, and is the only alternative before us. 1787.

THE CONSTITUTION, TO BE VINDICATED.

Let the reins of Government be braced, and held with a steady hand, and every violation of the Consti-

tution be reprehended. If defective, let it be amended, but not suffered to be trampled upon, whilst it has an existence.

THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT, AND LOCAL POLITICS.

We are now an independent people, and have yet to learn political tactics. We are placed among the nations of the earth, and have a character to establish ; but how we shall acquit ourselves, time must discover.

The probability is, (at least, I fear it,) that local or State politics will interfere too much with the more liberal and extensive plan of government, which wisdom and foresight, freed from the mist of prejudice, would dictate ; and that we shall be guilty of many blunders, in treading this boundless theatre, before we shall have arrived at any perfection in this art ; in a word, that the experience which is purchased at the price of difficulties and distress, will alone convince us, that the honor, power, and true interest of this country, must be measured by a Continental scale, and that every departure therefrom weakens the Union, and may ultimately break the band which holds us together.

To avert these evils, to form a New Constitution, that will give consistency, stability, and dignity to the Union, and sufficient powers to the Great Council of the nation, for general purposes, is a duty incum-

bent upon every man who wishes well to his country, and will meet with my aid as far as it can be rendered in the private walks of life. 1783.

I see *one head* gradually changing into thirteen. I see *one army* branching into *thirteen ;* and, instead of looking up to Congress, as the Supreme Controlling Power of the United States, considering themselves as dependent on their respective States. In a word, I see the power of Congress declining too fast for the consequence and respect which are due to them, as the Great Representative Body of America ; and I am fearful of the consequences.

STATE RIGHTS.

The disinclination of the individual States, to yield powers to Congress, for the Federal Government, their unreasonable jealousy of that body and of one another, and the disposition which seems to pervade each, of being all-wise and all-powerful within itself, will, if there be not a change in the system, be our downfall as a nation.

This is as clear to me as A, B, C ; and I think we have opposed Great Britain, and have arrived at the present state of peace and independency, to very little purpose, if we cannot conquer our own prejudices. The powers of Europe begin to see this ; and our newly acquired friends, the British, are already and professedly acting upon this ground ; and wisely

too, if we are determined to persevere in our folly. They know, that *individual* opposition to their measures is futile ; and boast, that we are not sufficiently united as a nation, to give a *general* one ! Is not the indignity alone of this declaration, while we are in the very act of peace-making and conciliation, sufficient to stimulate us to vest more extensive and adequate powers in the Sovereign of these United States ? 1784.

I should suppose, no *individual* State can, or ought to, deprive an officer of rank derived from the *States at large ;* and that it will not be improper for Congress to prohibit the exercise of such a power. The principle and practice are what I cannot reconcile to my ideas of propriety.

CONGRESS: CHOICE OF DELEGATES.

Men, chosen as the delegates in Congress are, cannot officially be dangerous. They depend upon the breath, nay, they are so much the creatures of the people, under the present Constitution, that they can have no views, which could possibly be carried into execution, nor any interests distinct from those of their constituents.

My political creed is, to be wise in the choice of delegates, support them like gentlemen while they are our representatives, give them competent powers

for all Federal purposes, support them in the due exercise thereof, and, lastly, compel them to close attendance in Congress, during their delegation. These things, under the present mode and termination of elections, aided by *annual* instead of *constant* sessions, would, or I am exceedingly mistaken, make us one of the most wealthy, happy, respectable, and powerful nations that ever inhabited the terrestrial globe. Without them, we shall, in my opinion, soon be every thing which is the direct reverse. 1784.

ANNUAL SESSIONS OF CONGRESS.

Annual sessions would always produce a full representation, and alertness in business. The delegates, after a separation of eight or ten months, would meet each other with glad countenances. They would be complaisant ; they would yield to each other all that duty to their constituents would allow ; and they would have better opportunities of becoming acquainted with their sentiments, and removing improper prejudices, when they are imbibed, by mixing with them during the recess.

Men who are always together, get tired of each other's company. They throw off that restraint which is necessary to keep things in proper tune. They say and do things which are personally disgusting. This begets opposition ; opposition begets faction ; and so

it goes on, till business is impeded, and often at a stand.

I am sure, (having the business prepared by proper boards, or a committee,) an Annual Session of two months would despatch more business than is done in twelve, and this by a full representation of the Union.

1784.

FREE AND EQUAL REPRESENTATION.

I always believed, that an unequivocally free and equal representation of the people in the legislature, together with an efficient and responsible Executive, was the great pillar on which the preservation of American freedom must depend.

THE DUTY OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Without an unprejudiced coolness, the welfare of the government may be hazarded. Without harmony, as far as consistent with freedom of sentiment, its dignity may be lost.

ELECTIONS.

In all free governments, contentions in elections will take place ; and, whilst it is confined to our own citizens, it is not to be regretted ; but severely indeed

ought it to be reprobated, when occasioned by *foreign machinations.*

I trust that the good sense of our countrymen will guard the public weal against this and every other innovation, and that, although we may be a little wrong now and then, we shall return to the right path with more avidity.

I can never believe, that Providence, which has guided us so long, and through such a labyrinth, will withdraw its protection at this crisis. 1797.

THE AFFECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

It is desirable, on all occasions, to unite, with a steady and firm adherence to constitutional and necessary acts of government, the fullest evidence of a disposition, as far as may be practicable, to consult the wishes of every part of the community, and to lay the foundations of the public administration in *the affections of the people.* 1791.

I cannot forbear to recommend a repeal of the tax on the transportation of public prints. There is no resource so firm for the Government of the United States, as *the affections of the people*, guided by an enlightened policy. And to this primary good, nothing can conduce more, than a faithful representation of public proceedings, diffused without restraint throughout the United States. 1793.

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE.

In general, I esteem it a good maxim, that the best way to preserve the confidence of the people durably, is to promote their true interest.

There are particular exigencies, when this maxim has peculiar force. When any great object is in view, the popular mind is roused into expectation, and prepared to make sacrifices both of ease and property. If those to whom the people confide the management of their affairs do not call them to make these sacrifices, and the object is not attained, or they are involved in the reproach of not having contributed as much as they ought to have done towards it, they will be mortified at the disappointment ; they will feel the censure ; and their resentment will rise against those who, with sufficient authority, have omitted to do what their interest and their honor required.

THE CONSTITUTION, THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE.

To complete the American character, it remains for the citizens of the United States to show to the world that the reproach heretofore cast on Republican Governments, for their want of stability, is without foundation, when that Government is the deliberate choice of an enlightened people. And I am fully persuaded, that every well-wisher to the happiness and

prosperity of this country will evince, by his conduct, that we live under a government of laws, and that, while we preserve inviolate our national faith, we are desirous to live in amity with all mankind. 1793.

PUBLIC OPINION, TO BE ENLIGHTENED.

Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.

In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential, that public opinion should be enlightened.

THE VOICE OF THE MULTITUDE.

In a free and republican government, you cannot restrain the voice of the multitude. Every man will speak as he thinks, or, more properly, without thinking, and consequently will judge of effects without attending to their causes. 1778.

THE GOVERNMENT ; ITS BRANCHES.

The General Government is not invested with more powers, than are indispensably necessary to perform the functions of a good government. These powers are so

distributed among the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial branches, into which the General Government is arranged, that it can never be in danger of degenerating into a Monarchy, an Oligarchy, an Aristocracy, or any other despotic or oppressive form, so long as there shall remain any virtue in the body of the people.

THE CONSTITUTION, OUR GUIDE.

The Constitution is the guide which I never can abandon. 1795.

COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL VIEWS.

In every act of my administration, I have sought the happiness of my fellow-citizens. My system for the attainment of this object, has uniformly been, to overlook all personal, local, and partial considerations; to contemplate the United States as one great whole; to confide, that sudden impressions, when erroneous, would yield to candid reflection; and to consult only the substantial and permanent interests of the country. 1795.

CHARACTER OF THE FIRST CONGRESS.

Did it not savor too much of partiality for my countrymen, I might say, that I cannot help flatter-

ing myself, that the new Congress, on account of the self-created respectability and various talents of its members, will not be inferior to any Assembly in the world. 1789.

THE SOURCE OF POWER.

The power under the Constitution, will always be in *the people.*

It is intrusted, for certain defined purposes, and for a certain limited period, to representatives of their own choosing ; and, whenever it is exercised contrary to their interest, or not agreeably to their wishes, their servants can and undoubtedly will be recalled.

THE DUTIES OF THE PEOPLE.

It remains with the people themselves, to preserve and promote the great advantages of their political and natural situation. Nor ought a doubt to be entertained, that men, who so well understand the value of social happiness, will ever cease to appreciate the blessings of a free, equal, and efficient government.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

Whatever my own opinion may be, on any subject interesting to the community at large, it always has

been and will continue to be my earnest desire, to learn, and, as far as it is consistent, to comply with, *the public sentiment ;* but it is on great occasions only, and after time has been given for cool and deliberate reflection, that the real voice of the people can be known.

POPULAR COMMOTION.

The tumultuous populace of large cities, are ever to be dreaded. Their indiscriminate violence prostrates, for the time, all public authority ; and its consequences are sometimes extensive and terrible.

PARTY DISPUTES.

Such, for wise purposes it is presumed, is the turbulence of human passions in party disputes, when VICTORY, more than *truth*, is the palm contended for, that " the post of honor is a *private station.*"

THE JUST MEDIUM.

The JUST MEDIUM cannot be expected to be found in a moment. The first vibrations always go to the extremes ; and cool reason, which can alone establish a permanent and equal government, is as little to be expected in *the tumults of popular commotion*, as an

attention to the liberties of the people is to be found in *the dark divan of a despotic tyrant.*

POWER OF TRUTH.

I am sure, the mass of citizens in these United States mean well; and I firmly believe they will always *act well*, whenever they can obtain *a right understanding of matters.* But, in some parts of the Union, where the sentiments of their delegates and leaders are adverse to the government, and great pains are taken to inculcate a belief, that their rights are assailed and their liberties endangered, it is not easy to accomplish this; especially, as is the case invariably, when the inventors and abettors of pernicious measures use infinitely more industry, in *disseminating poison*, than the well-disposed part of the community, in *furnishing the antidote.*

To this source all our discontents may be traced; and from it all our embarrassments proceed. Hence serious misfortunes, originating in misrepresentation, frequently flow, and spread, before they can be dissipated by truth.

INFLUENCE OF THE PEOPLE.

From the gallantry and fortitude of her citizens, under the auspices of Heaven, America has derived

her Independence. To their industry, and the natural advantages of the country, she is indebted for her prosperous situation. From their virtue she may expect long to share the protection of a free and equal government, which their wisdom has established, and which experience justifies, as admirably adapted to our social wants and individual felicity.

THE PEOPLE ; NOT THE PRESIDENT.

As, under the smiles of Heaven, America is indebted for freedom and independence, rather to the joint exertions of the citizens of the several States than to the conduct of the Commander-in-chief, so is she indebted, for their support, rather to a continuation of those exertions, than to the prudence and ability manifested in the exercise of the powers delegated to the President of the United States.

LIBERTY AND POWER.

A *change* in the National Constitution, conformed to experience and the circumstances of our country, has been most happily effected by the influence of *reason alone.*

In this change, THE LIBERTY OF THE CITIZEN continues unimpaired, while THE ENERGY OF GOVERNMENT

is so increased, as to promise full protection to all the pursuits of science and industry, together with the firm establishment of public credit, and the vindication of our national character. 1790.

1. *OFFICERS AND AGENTS OF GOVERNMENT.*

APPOINTMENTS TO OFFICE.

Of two men equally well affected to the true interests of their country, of equal abilities, and equally disposed to lend their support, it is the part of prudence, to give preference to him against whom the least clamor can be excited.

GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

In the appointments to the *great offices* of Government, my aim has been, to combine *geographical situation*, and sometimes other considerations, with abilities, and fitness of known character.

FITNESS OF CHARACTER.

In every nomination to office, I have endeavored, as far as my own knowledge extended, or information could be obtained, to make fitness of character my primary object.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE.

It is really my wish, to have my mind and my actions which are the result of reflection, as free and independent as the air.

POLITICAL SUICIDE.

I shall not, whilst I have the honor to administer the Government, bring a man into any office of consequence, knowingly, whose political tenets are adverse to the measures which the General Government are pursuing ; for this, in my opinion, would be a sort of political suicide.

PRIVATE INCLINATION AND PUBLIC DUTY.

As a public man, acting only with reference to the public good, I must be allowed to decide upon all points of my duty, without consulting my private inclinations and wishes. I must be permitted, with

the best lights I can obtain, and upon a general view of characters and circumstances, to nominate such persons alone to offices as, in my judgment, shall be the best qualified to discharge the functions of the departments to which they shall be appointed.

ALLUREMENTS OF OFFICE.

All see, and most admire, the glare which hovers round the external happiness of elevated office. To me, there is nothing in it beyond the lustre, which may be reflected from its connection with the power of promoting human felicity.

FOREIGN MINISTERS.

The interests of the United States require, that our intercourse with other nations should be facilitated, by such provisions as will enable me to fulfil my duty in that respect, in the manner which circumstances may render most conducive to the public good ; and, to this end, that the compensations to be made to the persons who may be employed, should, according to the nature of their appointments, be defined by law, and a competent fund designated, for defraying the expenses incident to the conduct of our foreign affairs.

MAXIMS FOR EXECUTIVE OFFICERS.

Let me impress the following maxims upon the executive officers. In all important matters, deliberate maturely, but execute promptly and vigorously; and do not put things off until to-morrow, which can be done, and require to be done, to-day. Without an adherence to these rules, business never will be well done, or done in an easy manner, but will always be in arrear, with one thing treading upon the heels of another.

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Men in responsible situations cannot, like those in private life, be governed solely by the dictates of their own inclinations, or by such motives as can only affect themselves.

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Good measures should always be executed, as soon as they are conceived, and circumstances will admit.

COMPENSATION OF OFFICERS OF GOVERNMENT.

The compensation to the officers of the United States, in various instances, and in none more than in respect to the most important stations, appear to call for legislative provision.

The consequences of a defective provision, are of serious import to the government.

If private wealth is to supply the defect of public retribution, it will greatly contract the sphere within which the selection of character for office is to be made, and will proportionally diminish the probability of a choice of men, able as well as upright. Besides, it would be repugnant to the vital principles of our government, virtually to exclude from public trusts talents and virtue, unless accompanied by wealth.

2. *NATIONAL PROSPERITY.*

PROSPERITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Contemplating the internal situation, as well as the external relations, of the United States, we discover equal cause for contentment and satisfaction.

While many of the nations of Europe, with their American dependencies, have been involved in a contest unusually bloody, exhausting, and calamitous, in which the evils of foreign war have been aggravated by domestic convulsion and insurrection; in which many of the arts most useful to society have been exposed to discouragement and decay; in which scarcity of subsistence has embittered other sufferings; while even the anticipation of a return of the blessings of peace and repose are alloyed by the sense of heavy

and accumulating burdens, which press upon all the departments of industry, and threaten to clog the future springs of government; our favored country, happy in a striking contrast, has enjoyed general tranquillity,—a tranquillity the more satisfactory, because maintained at the expense of no duty.

Faithful to ourselves, we have violated no obligations to others.

—

Our *Agriculture*, *Commerce*, and *Manufactures* prosper beyond example, the molestations of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which, however, very pointed remonstrances have been made,) being overbalanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral position. 1795.

—

Our *Population* advances, with a celerity, which, exceeding the most sanguine calculations, proportionably augments our strength and resources, and guarantees our future security.

—

Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement; and, with burdens so light as scarcely to be perceived, with resources fully adequate to our present exigencies, with governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, and with mild and wholesome laws, is it too much to say, that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness, never surpassed, if ever before equalled?

1795.

Placed in a situation every way so auspicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with sincere acknowledgment to Heaven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preserve, prolong, and improve our immense advantages.

AMERICA AND EUROPE.

With respect to the nations of Europe, their situation appears so awful, that nothing short of Omnipotence can predict the issue; although every human mind must feel the miseries it endures.

Our course is plain; they who run may read it. *Theirs* is so bewildered and dark, so entangled and embarrassed, and so obviously under the influence of intrigue, that one would suppose, if any thing could open the eyes of our misled citizens, that the deplorable situation of those people could not fail to effect it.

1797.

NATIONAL PROSPECTS.

That the prospect before us is fair, none can deny; what use we shall make of it, is exceedingly problematical. Not but that I believe all things will come right at last; but, like a young heir, come a little prematurely to a large inheritance, we shall wanton and run riot, until we have brought our reputation to

the brink of ruin, and then, like him, shall have to labor with the current of opinion, when compelled perhaps to do what prudence and common policy pointed out, as plain as any problem of Euclid, in the first instance. 1784.

—

It should be the policy of United America, to administer to the *wants* of other nations, without being engaged in their *quarrels ;* and it is not in the ability of the proudest and most polite people on earth, to prevent us from becoming a great, a respectable, and a commercial nation, if we shall continue *united and faithful to ourselves.* 1788.

AMERICA'S FUTURE.

I look forward, with a kind of political faith, to scenes of National Happiness, which have not heretofore been offered for the fruition of the most favored nations.

The natural, political, and moral circumstances of our nascent empire justify the anticipation.

—

We have an almost unbounded territory, whose natural advantages for agriculture and commerce equal those of any on the globe. In a civil point of view, we have the unequalled privilege of choosing our own political institutions, and of improving upon the experience of mankind, in the formation of a confederated

government, where due energy will not be incompatible with the unalienable rights of freemen ; and the information and morals of our citizens appear to be peculiarly favorable for the introduction of such a plan of government.

—

In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce and the cultivation of the soil will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the Fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment ; and the extensive and fertile Regions of the West will yield a most happy asylum to those, who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence.

—

The prospect of national prosperity now before us is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men, to establish and secure the happiness of their country, in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of Divine Providence, the protection of a good government, the cultivation of manners, morals, and piety, can hardly fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence in Literature, Commerce, Agriculture, improvements at home, and respectability abroad. 1789.

NATIONAL REPUTATION.

The virtue, moderation and patriotism, which marked the steps of the American people, in framing, adopting, and thus far carrying into effect our present system of government, have excited the admiration of nations.

It only now remains for us, to act up to those principles, which should characterize a free and enlightened people, that we may gain respect abroad, and insure happiness to ourselves and our posterity.

FOUNDERS OF THE FABRIC OF FREEDOM.

Happy, thrice happy shall they be pronounced, hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office, in erecting the stupendous FABRIC OF FREEDOM AND EMPIRE, on the broad basis of *independency ;* who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and establishing an Asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.

AMERICA, AN ASYLUM FOR THE OPPRESSED.

Under an energetic General Government, such regulations might be made, and such measures taken, as would render this country the Asylum of pacific and

industrious characters from all parts of Europe; encourage the cultivation of the earth, by the high price which its products would command; and draw the wealth and wealthy men of other nations into our bosom, by giving security to property, and liberty to its holders. 1787.

It is a flattering and consolatory reflection, that our rising Republics have the good wishes of all the philosophers, patriots, and virtuous men, in all nations; and that they look upon them, as a kind of *Asylum for Mankind.* God grant, that we may not disappoint their honest expectations by our folly or perverseness. 1788.

THE WORLD'S GRANARY.

I hope, some day, we shall become a Storehouse and Granary for the World.

THE HOME OF INDUSTRY.

It is a point conceded, that America, under an efficient government, will be the most favorable country of any in the world, for persons of industry and frugality, possessed of a moderate capital.

It is also believed, that it will not be less advantageous to the happiness of the lowest class of the people, on account of the equal distribution of prop-

erty, the great plenty of unoccupied lands, and the facility of procuring the means of subsistence.

The scheme of purchasing a good tract of freehold estate, and bringing out a number of able-bodied men, indented for a certain time, appears to be indisputably a rational one.

EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.

My opinion with respect to Emigration is, that, except of useful mechanics, and some particular descriptions of men or professions, there is no need of encouragement ; whilst the policy or advantage of its taking place in a body, (I mean the settling of them in a body,) may be much questioned ; for, by so doing, they retain the language, habits, and principles, good or bad, which they bring with them. Whereas, by an intermixture with our people, they or their descendants get assimilated to our customs, measures, and laws ; in a word, soon become our people. 1794.

THE COUNTRY'S WATCHFUL GUARDIANS.

The affairs of this country *cannot go amiss.* There are *so many watchful guardians of them !* and such *infallible guides !* that no one is at a loss for a director at every turn.

3. *NATIONAL POLICY.*

FOREIGN INFLUENCE.

Against the insidious wiles of *foreign influence*, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that Foreign Influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.

—

Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate, to see danger *only on one side*, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other.

—

Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

THE TRUE POLICY OF AMERICA.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our *commercial* relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

—

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us, to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships and enmities.

FOREIGN ALLIANCES.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyances ; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the *neutrality* we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected ; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making

acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation ; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantage of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own, to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

—

It is our policy, to steer clear of Permanent Alliances with any portion of the foreign world ; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it ; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements.

—

I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that *honesty is always the best policy.* I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed, in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

—

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, in a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to *temporary* alliances, for extraordinary emergencies.

NATIONAL ANTIPATHIES AND ATTACHMENTS.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations. In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential, than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded ; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.

—

The nation which indulges towards another an *habitual hatred*, or an *habitual fondness*, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity, or to its affection ; either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.

—

Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject ; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives.

The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

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A *passionate attachment* of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an *imaginary* common interest, in cases where no *real* common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld.

And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favorite nation,) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

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As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How

many opportunities do they afford, to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the Public Councils! Such an attachment, of a small or weak toward a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE NATION.

I can most religiously aver, I have no wish that is incompatible with the dignity, happiness, and true interest of the people of this country. My ardent desire is, and my aim has been, so far as depended on the Executive department, to comply strictly with all our engagements, foreign and domestic; but to keep the United States free from political connections with every other country, to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an AMERICAN CHARACTER, that the powers of Europe may be convinced *we act for ourselves*, and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad, and happy at home; and not, by becoming the partisans of Great Britain or France, create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps for ever, the cement which binds the Union.

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My policy has been, and will continue to be, while I have the honor to remain in the administration, to

maintain friendly terms with, but to be independent of, all the nations of the earth; to share in the broils of none; to fulfil our own engagements; to supply the wants, and be carriers for them all; being thoroughly convinced, that it is our policy and interest to do so.

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Nothing short of self-respect, and that justice which is essential to a national character, ought to involve us in war; for sure I am, if this country is preserved in tranquillity twenty years longer, it may bid defiance, in a just cause, to any power whatever; such, in that time, will be its population, wealth, and resources.

NON-INTERVENTION.

I have always given it as my decided opinion, that no nation had a right to intermeddle in the internal concerns of another; that every one had a right to form and adopt whatever government they liked best to live under, themselves; and that if this country could, consistently with its engagements, maintain a strict neutrality and thereby preserve peace, it was bound to do so, by motives of policy, interest, and every other consideration that ought to actuate a people situated as we are, already deeply in debt, and in a convalescent state from the struggles we have been engaged in, ourselves.

PEACE WITH OTHER NATIONS.

Observations on the value of peace with other nations are unnecessary. It would be wise, however, by timely provisions to guard against those acts of our own citizens, which might tend to disturb it, and to put ourselves in a condition to give that satisfaction to foreign nations which we may sometimes have occasion to require from them.

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I particularly recommend to your consideration, the means of preventing those aggressions by our citizens on the territory of other nations, and other infractions of the law of nations, which, furnishing just subject of complaint, might endanger our peace with them. 1792.

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Where individuals shall, within the United States, array themselves in hostility against any of the powers at war, or enter upon military expeditions or enterprises within the jurisdiction of the United States, or usurp or exercise judicial authority within the United States, or where the penalties or violation of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked or are inadequate, these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

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True to our duties and interests as Americans,

firm to our purpose as lovers of peace, let us unite our fervent prayers to the great Ruler of the Universe, that the justice and moderation of all concerned may permit us to continue in the uninterrupted enjoyment of a blessing, which we so greatly prize, and of which we ardently wish them a speedy and permanent participation. 1793.

PEACE WITH ALL THE WORLD.

My policy, in our foreign transactions, has been, to cultivate *peace with all the world* ; to observe the treaties with pure and absolute faith ; to check every deviation from the line of impartiality ; to explain what may have been misapprehended, and correct what may have been injurious to any nation ; and having thus acquired the right, to lose no time in acquiring the ability, to insist upon justice being done to ourselves. 1794.

If, by prudence and moderation on every side, the extinguishment of *all causes of external discord* which have hitherto menaced our tranquillity, on terms compatible with our national rights and honor, shall be the happy result, how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid, for accelerating, maturing, and establishing the prosperity of our country. 1795.

PEACE, OUR POLICY.

I rejoice, most exceedingly, that there is an end of our warfare, and that such a field is opening to our view, as will, with wisdom to direct the cultivation of it, make us a great, a respectable, and happy people. 1783.

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Would to God, the harmony of nations were an object that lay nearest to the hearts of sovereigns; and that the incentives to peace, of which commerce, and facility of understanding each other, are not the most inconsiderable, might be daily increased. 1788.

—

Peace with all the world, is my sincere wish. I am sure it is our true policy, and am persuaded it is the ardent desire of the government.

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The affairs of the country are in a violent paroxysm; and it is the duty of its old and uniform friends, to assist in piloting the vessel in which we are all embarked, between the rocks of Scylla and Charybdis; for more pains never were taken, I believe, than at this moment, to throw it upon one or the other, and to embroil us in the disputes of Europe. 1795.

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Standing as it were in the midst of falling empires, it should be our aim to assume a station and attitude, which will preserve us from being overwhelmed in their ruins.

It is not uncommon, in prosperous gales, to forget, that adverse winds may blow. Such was the case with France. Such may be the case with the coalesced powers against her.

A bystander sees more of the game, generally, than those who are playing it. So neutral nations may be better able to draw a line between the contending parties, than those who are actors in the war. My own wish is, to see every thing settled upon the best and surest foundation, for the peace and happiness of mankind, without regard to this, that, or the other nation.

A more destructive sword never was drawn, at least in modern times, than this war has produced. It is time to sheathe it, and give peace to mankind. 1789.

I pray devoutly, that we* may both witness, and that shortly, the return of peace; for a more bloody, expensive, and eventful war is not recorded in modern, if to be found in ancient, history. 1797.

FALSE SECURITY.

The satisfaction I have, in any successes that attend us, even in the alleviation of misfortunes, is always allayed by a fear that it will lull us into security.

Supineness, and a disposition to flatter ourselves,

* He is addressing the Earl of Radnor.

seem to make parts of our national character. When we receive a check, and are not quite undone, we are apt to fancy we have gained a victory ; and, when we do gain any little advantage, we imagine it decisive, and expect the war immediately at an end.

The history of the war is a history of false hopes, and temporary expedients. Would to God, they were to end here. 1780.

THE FLATTERY OF SUCCESS.

Particular successes, obtained against all the chances of war, have had too much influence, to the prejudice of general and substantial principles. 1781.

UNINTERMITTED EFFORT.

Although we cannot, by the best concerted plans, absolutely command success, although the race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong, yet, without presumptuously waiting for miracles to be wrought, in our favor, it is our indispensable duty, with the deepest gratitude to Heaven for the past, and humble confidence in its smiles on our future operations, to make use of all means in our power for our defence and security.

HONORABLE PEACE.

There is nothing which will so soon produce a speedy and honorable peace, as a state of preparation for war; and we must either do this, or lay our account to patch up an inglorious peace, after all the toil, blood, and treasure we have spent. This has been my uniform opinion; a doctrine I have endeavored, amidst the universal expectation of an approaching peace, to inculcate, and which I am sure the event will justify. 1782.

There is nothing so likely to produce peace, as to be well prepared to meet the enemy.

PEACE WITHOUT INDEPENDENCE, TO BE DEPLORED.

To discerning men, nothing can be more evident, than that a peace, on the principles of dependence, however limited, after what has happened, would be, to the last degree, dishonorable and ruinous. 1778.

It really seems to me, from a comprehensive view of things, that a period is fast approaching, big with events of the most interesting importance; when the counsels we pursue, and the part we act, may lead decisively to liberty or to slavery. Under this idea, I cannot but regret that inactivity, that inattention, that

want of something, which unhappily I have but too often experienced in our public affairs. I wish, that our representation in Congress was full from every State, and that it was formed on the first abilities among us.

Whether we continue to prosecute the war, or proceed to negotiate, the wisdom of America in council cannot be too great. Our situation will be truly delicate. To enter into a negotiation too hastily, or to reject it altogether, may be attended with consequences equally fatal.

The wishes of the people, seldom founded on deep disquisitions, or resulting from other reasonings than their present feelings, may not entirely accord with our true policy and interest. If they do not, to observe a proper line of conduct for promoting the one, and avoiding offence to the other, will be a work of great difficulty. 1778.

Nothing short of independence, it appears to me, can possibly do. A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be *a peace of war.*

The injuries we have received from the British nation were so unprovoked, and have been so great and so many, that they can never be forgotten. Besides the feuds, the jealousies, the animosities, that would ever attend a union with them ; besides the importance, the advantages, which we should derive from an unrestricted commerce ; our fidelity as a people, our

gratitude, our character as men, are opposed to a coalition with them as subjects, but in case of the last extremity.

Were we easily to accede to terms of dependence, no nation, upon future occasions, let the oppressions of Britain be ever so flagrant and unjust, would interpose for our relief; or, at most, they would do it with a cautious reluctance, and upon conditions, most probably, that would be hard, if not dishonorable to us. France, by her supplies, has saved us from the yoke, thus far; and a wise and virtuous perseverance would, and I trust will, free us entirely. 1778.

NEUTRALITY.

According to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

With me, a predominant motive has been, to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions; and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency,

which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes. 1796.

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Having determined, as far as lay within the power of the Executive, to keep this country in a state of neutrality, I have made my public conduct accord with the system ; and, whilst so acting as a public character, consistency and propriety as a private man forbid those intemperate expressions in favor of one nation, or to the prejudice of another, which many have indulged themselves in, and, I will venture to add, to the embarrassment of government, without producing any good to the country. 1794.

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Our situation is such as makes it not only unnecessary, but extremely imprudent, for us to take a part in their quarrels ; and, whenever a contest happens among them, if we wisely and properly improve the advantage which nature has given us, we may be benefited by their folly, provided we conduct ourselves with circumspection and under proper restrictions. 1787.

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Separated as we are, by a world of water, from other nations, if we are wise, we shall surely avoid being drawn into the labyrinth of their politics, and involved in their destructive wars. 1788.

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America may think herself happy, in having the Atlantic for a barrier. 1785.

NATIONAL SYMPATHY.

The impressions naturally produced by similarity of political sentiment, are justly to be regarded as causes of national sympathy, calculated to confirm the amicable ties which may otherwise subsist between nations. This reflection, independent of its more particular reference, must dispose every benevolent mind to unite in the wish, that a general diffusion of the true principles of liberty, assimilating as well as ameliorating the condition of mankind, and fostering the maxims of an ingenuous and virtuous policy, may tend to strengthen the Fraternity of the Human Race, to assuage the jealousies and animosities of its various subdivisions, and to convince them, more and more, that *their true interest and felicity will best be promoted, by mutual good-will and universal harmony.*

1791.

4. *FOREIGN NATIONS.*

TREATIES.

The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution; and their success must often depend on secrecy.

Even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclo-

sure of all the measures, demands, or eventual concessions, which have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniences, perhaps danger or mischief, in relation to other powers. 1796.

It doubtless is important, that all Treaties and Compacts formed by the United States with other nations, whether civilized or not, should be made with caution, and executed with fidelity.

TREATY-MAKING POWER.

Having been a member of the General Convention, and knowing the principles on which the Constitution was formed, I have ever entertained but one opinion on this subject; and, from the first establishment of the Government to this moment, my conduct has exemplified that opinion, that the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and that every treaty, so made and promulgated, thenceforward became the law of the land.

It is thus that the treaty-making power has been understood by foreign nations; and, in all the treaties made with them, we have declared, and they have believed, that, when ratified by the President, with the

advice and consent of the Senate, they became obligatory. 1796.

THE PRESIDENT, THE TREATY-MAKER.

The Constitution has assigned to the President the power of making treaties, with the advice and consent of the Senate. It was doubtless supposed, that these two branches of Government would combine, without passion, and with the best means of information, those facts and principles, upon which the success of our foreign relations will always depend; that they ought not to substitute, for their own conviction, the opinions of others, or to seek truth through any channel but that of a temperate and well-informed investigation. 1795.

RATIFICATION OF TREATIES.

It is said to be the general understanding and practice of nations, as a check on the mistakes and indiscretions of ministers and commissioners, not to consider any treaty, negotiated and signed by such officers, as final and conclusive, until *ratified* by the Sovereign or Government from whom they derive their powers. 1796.

OPPRESSIVE TREATIES

It is among nations, as with individuals ; the party taking advantage of the distresses of another, will lose infinitely more, in the opinion of mankind, and in consequent events, than it will gain by the stroke of the moment.

EQUITABLE TREATIES.

Treaties which are not built upon reciprocal benefits, are not likely to be of long duration.

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Unless Treaties are mutually beneficial to the parties, it is in vain to hope for a continuance of them, beyond the moment when the one which conceives itself overreached, is in a situation to break off the connection.

NATIONAL FRIENDSHIPS.

Our own experience, if it has not already had this effect, will soon convince us, that the idea of *disinterested* favors or friendship from any nation whatever, is too novel to be calculated on ; and there will always be found a wide difference between the words and actions of any of them. 1797.

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Nations are not influenced, as individuals may be,

by *disinterested friendships ;* but, when it is their interest to live in amity, we have little reason to apprehend any rupture. 1786.

NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

I do not like to add to the number of our national obligations. I would wish, as much as possible, to avoid giving a foreign power new claims of merit for services performed to the United States, and would ask no assistance that is not indispensable. 1778.

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No policy, in my opinion, can be more clearly demonstrated, than that we should do justice to all, and have no political connection with any of the European powers, beyond those which result from, and serve to regulate, our commerce with them.

THE POLITICS OF PRINCES.

The politics of Princes are fluctuating ; often, more guided by a particular prejudice, whim, or interest, than by extensive views of policy.

CAPRICES OF MINISTERS.

The change or caprice of a single Minister, is capable of altering the whole system of Europe.

NATIONAL CANDOR.

Candor is not a more conspicuous trait, in the character of Governments, than it is of individuals.

NATIONAL SENTIMENTS.

I have always believed, that some apparent cause, powerful in its nature, and progressive in its operation, must be employed, to produce a change in national sentiments.

NATIONAL HONESTY.

Honesty in States, as well as in individuals, will ever be found the soundest policy. 1787.

RESOURCES OF BRITAIN.

In modern wars, the longest purse must chiefly determine the event. I fear, that of the enemy will be found to be so.

Though the *Government* is deeply in debt, the *Nation* is rich ; and their riches afford a fund which will not be easily exhausted. Besides, their system of public credit is such, that it is capable of greater exertions than any other nation.

Speculatists have been, a long time, foretelling Great Britain's downfall ; but we see no symptoms of the catastrophe being very near. I am persuaded, it will at least last out the war ; and then, in the opinion of many of the best politicians, it will be a national advantage. If the war should terminate successfully, the Crown will have acquired such influence and power, that it may attempt any thing ; and *a bankruptcy will probably be made the ladder to climb to absolute authority.*

The Administration may, perhaps, wish to drive matters to this issue. At any rate, they will not be restrained, by an apprehension of it, from forcing the resources of the State. It will promote their present purposes, on which their all is at stake ; and it may pave the way to triumph more effectually over the Constitution. With this disposition, I have no doubt that ample means will be found, to prosecute the war with the greatest vigor. 1780.

The Maritime Resources of Great Britain are more substantial and real, than those of France and Spain united. Her commerce is more extensive than that of both her rivals ; and it is an axiom, that the nation which has the most extensive commerce, will always have the most powerful marine.

THE BRITISH NAVY.

If the Spaniards, under this * favorable beginning, would unite their fleet to that of France, together they would soon humble the pride of haughty Britain, and no longer suffer her to reign sovereign of the seas, and claim the privilege of giving laws to the main. 1778.

The opening is now fair ; and God grant, that they may embrace the opportunity of bidding an eternal adieu to our (once quit of them) happy land.

If the Spaniards would but join their fleets to those of France, and commence hostilities, my doubts would subside ; without it, I fear the British navy has it too much in its power to counteract the schemes of France. 1778.

SPAIN.

In this age of free inquiry and enlightened reason, it is to be hoped, that the condition of the people in every country will be bettered, and the happiness of mankind promoted. Spain appears to be so much behind the other nations of Europe in liberal policy, that a long time will undoubtedly elapse, before the people of that kingdom can taste the sweets

* The defeat of the British squadron, by the French Admiral d'Orvilliers.

of liberty, and enjoy the natural advantages of their country. 1791.

THE MEDIATION OF SPAIN.

The conduct of England in rejecting the mediation of Spain, is more strongly tinctured with insanity, than any thing she has done in the course of the contest, unless she be sure of very powerful aid from some of the northern powers. 1779.

COUNT D'ESTAING.

The glorious success of Count d'Estaing in the West Indies, at the same time that it adds dominion to France, and fresh lustre to her arms, is a source of new and unexpected misfortune to our *tender and generous parent*, and must serve to convince her of the folly of quitting the substance, in pursuit of the shadow ; and, as there is no experience equal to that which is bought, I trust she will have the superabundance of this kind of knowledge, and be convinced, as I hope all the world and every tyrant in it will be, that the best and only safe road to honor, glory, and true dignity, is *justice*. 1779.

AMERICA'S FALSE SECURITY.

I very much fear, that we, taking it for granted, that we have nothing more to do, because France has acknowledged our Independency, and formed an alliance with us, shall relapse into a state of supineness and false security.

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I think it more than probable, from the situation of affairs in Europe, that the enemy will receive no considerable, if any, reinforcements. But suppose they should not, their remaining force, if well directed, is far from being contemptible. In the desperate state of British affairs, it is worth a desperate attempt to extricate themselves ; and a blow at our main army, if successful, would have a wonderful effect upon the minds of a number of people, still wishing to embrace the present terms, or indeed any terms offered by Great Britain.

FRANCE AND AMERICA.

The Court of France has made a glorious effort for our deliverance, and if we disappoint her intentions, by our supineness, we must become contemptible in the eyes of all mankind. Nor can we, after that, venture to confide, that our allies will persist in an attempt to establish what, it will appear, we want inclination or ability to assist them in. 1780.

The present instance of the friendship of the Court of France, is attended with every circumstance that can render it important and agreeable, that can interest our gratitude, or fix our emulation. 1780.

FRENCH OFFICERS IN AMERICA.

In the midst of a war, the nature and difficulties of which are peculiar and uncommon, I cannot flatter myself in any way to recompense the sacrifices they have made, but by giving them such opportunities in the field of glory, as will enable them to display that gallantry, and those talents, which we shall always be happy to acknowledge with applause.

1780.

FRENCH MILITARY CHARACTER.

To call your nation brave, were to pronounce but common praise. Wonderful people! Ages to come will read with astonishment the history of your brilliant exploits. 1796.

FRANCE.

It is a country to which I shall ever feel a warm affection. 1783.

5. *FINANCE.*

PUBLIC CREDIT.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish Public Credit.

One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible ; avoiding occasions of expense, by cultivating peace ; but remembering also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it ; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear.

The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives ; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue ; that to have Revenue, there must be Taxes ; that no Taxes can be devised, which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant ; that the intrinsic embarrassment,

inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining Revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate 1796.

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An adequate provision for the support of the Public Credit, is a matter of high importance to the national honor and prosperity. 1790.

NATIONAL RESOURCES.

The country does not want resources, but we the means of drawing them forth. 1780.

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No nation will have it more in its power, to repay what it borrows, than this. Our debts are, hitherto, small. The vast and valuable tracts of unlocated lands, the variety and fertility of climates and soils, the advantages of every kind which we possess, for commerce, insure to this country a rapid advancement in population and prosperity, and a certainty, its independence being established, of redeeming, in a short term of years, the comparatively inconsiderable debts it may have occasion to contract. 1781.

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The concurrence of virtuous individuals, and the

combination of economical societies, to rely, as much as possible, on *the resources of our own country*, may be productive of great national advantages, by establishing the habits of industry and economy. 1789.

NATIONAL DEBT.

The system proposed by Congress, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised. And if it shall not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place, before any different plan can possibly be proposed and adopted. 1783.

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Let us, as a nation, be just ; let us fulfil the public contracts, which Congress had undoubtedly a right to make, for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements.

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I entertain a strong hope, that the state of the national finances is now sufficiently matured, to enable you * to enter upon a systematic and effectual arrangement, for the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt, according to the right which has

* The House of Representatives.

been reserved to the Government. No measure can be more desirable, whether viewed with an eye to its intrinsic importance, or to the general sentiment and wish of the nation. 1792.

No pecuniary consideration is more urgent, than the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt. On none can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable. 1793.

SPEEDY EXTINGUISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

Posterity may have cause to regret, if, from any motive, intervals of tranquillity are left unimproved for accelerating this valuable end. 1796.

BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

In two hours after the books were opened by the Commissioners, the whole number of shares was taken up, and four thousand more applied for, than were allowed by the institution ; besides a number of subscriptions which were coming on. This circumstance was not only pleasing, as it related to the confidence in the Government, but as it exhibited an unexpected proof of the resources of our citizens. 1791.

STATE FUNDS.

That no man can be more opposed to State Funds, or local prejudices, than myself, the whole tenor of my conduct has been continual evidence of. No man, perhaps, has had better opportunities, to see and feel the pernicious tendency of the latter than I have. 1783.

THE CURRENCY.

I am well aware, that appearances ought to be upheld, and that we should avoid, as much as possible, recognizing, by any public act, the depreciation of our Currency.

But, I conceive, this end would be answered, as far as might be necessary, by stipulating,* that all money payments should be made in gold and silver, being the common medium of commerce among nations, at the rate of four shillings and sixpence for a Spanish milled dollar; by fixing the price of rations on an equitable scale relatively to our respective circumstances; and by providing for the payment of what we owe, by sending in provision and selling it at their market.

It is our interest and truest policy, as far as it may be practicable, on all occasions, to give a currency

* With the British General Howe.

and value to that which is to be the medium of our internal commerce, and the support of the war. 1778.

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Can we carry on the war much longer? Certainly not, unless some measures can be devised and speedily executed, to restore the credit of our Currency, restrain extortion, and punish forestallers.

Unless these can be effected, what funds can stand the present expenses of the army? And what officers can bear the weight of prices that every necessary article has got to?

A rat, in the shape of a horse, is not to be bought at this time, for less than two hundred pounds; nor a saddle, under thirty or forty; boots, twenty; and shoes and other articles, in like proportion. How is it possible, therefore, for officers to stand this, without an increase of pay? And how is it possible to advance their pay, when flour is selling, at different places, from five to fifteen pounds per hundred weight, hay from ten to thirty pounds per ton, and beef and other essentials, in this proportion? 1778.

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It is well worthy the ambition of a patriot statesman, at this juncture, to endeavor to pacify party differences, to give fresh vigor to the springs of Government, to inspire the people with confidence, and, above all, to restore the credit of our Currency. 1779.

USING THE SPONGE.

The sponge, which some gentlemen have talked of using, unless there be a discrimination and proper saving clauses provided, (and how far this is practicable I know not,) would be unjust and impolitic in the extreme.

Perhaps I do not understand what they mean, by "Using the sponge." If it be, to sink the money in the hands of the holders of it, and at their loss, it cannot in my opinion stand justified upon any principles of common policy, common sense, or common honesty.

How far a man, who has possessed himself of twenty paper dollars, *by means of one, or the value of one, in specie,* has a just claim upon the public, for more than one of the latter, in redemption, and in that ratio according to the periods of depreciation, I leave to those who are better acquainted with the nature of the subject, and have more leisure than I have, to discuss.

CREDIT OF THE CURRENCY, TO BE RESTORED.

Every other effort is in vain, unless something can be done to restore its credit.

Congress, the States individually, and individuals of each State, should exert themselves to effect this great end. It is the only hope, the last resource, of

the enemy. Nothing but our want of public virtue can induce a continuance of the war.

Let them once see, that, as it is in our power, so it is our inclination and intention, to overcome this difficulty; and the idea of conquest, or hope of bringing us back to a state of dependence, will vanish like the morning dew. They can no more encounter this kind of opposition, than the hoar-frost can withstand the rays of the all-cheering sun. The liberty and safety of this country depend upon it. The way is plain; the means are in our power. But it is virtue alone that can effect it. 1779.

To make and extort money, in every shape that can be devised, and at the same time to decry its value, seems to have become a mere business, and an epidemical disease, calling for the interposition of every good man and body of men. 1778.

GREAT DEPRECIATION OF THE CURRENCY.

The depreciation has got to so alarming a point, that a *wagon-load of money* will scarcely purchase a *wagon-load of provisions.* 1779.

THE STATE OF THE CURRENCY, THE NATION'S GREAT EVIL.

Nothing, I am convinced, but the depreciation of our currency, has fed the hopes of the enemy, and kept the British arms in America to this day. They do not scruple to declare this themselves; and add, that *we shall be our own conquerors.*

Cannot our common country, America, possess virtue enough to disappoint them? Is the paltry consideration of a little pelf to individuals, to be placed in competition with the essential rights and liberties of the present generation, and of millions yet unborn? Shall a few designing men, for their own aggrandizement, and to gratify their own avarice, overset the goodly fabric we have been rearing at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure?

Shall we at last become the victims of our own lust of gain? Forbid it, Heaven! Forbid it, all and every State of the Union, by enacting and enforcing efficacious laws for checking the growth of these monstrous evils, and restoring matters, in some degree, to the state they were in at the commencement of the war! 1779.

SPECULATORS IN THE CURRENCY.

This tribe of black gentry work more effectually against us, than the enemy's arms.

They are a hundred times more dangerous to our liberties, and the great cause we are engaged in.

1779.

It is much to be lamented, that each State, long ere this, has not hunted them down, as pests to society, and the greatest enemies we have to the happiness of America.

I would to God, that some one of the most atrocious in each State, was hung upon a gallows, five times as high as the one prepared by Haman.

No punishment, in my opinion, is too great for the man who can build his greatness upon his country's ruin. 1778.

Let vigorous measures be adopted; not to *limit the prices* of articles, for this, I believe, is inconsistent with the very nature of things, and impracticable in itself; but to *punish Speculators, Forestallers, and Extortioners*, and, above all, to sink the money by heavy taxes, to promote public and private economy, and encourage manufactures.

Measures of this sort, gone heartily into by the several States, would strike at once at the root of all our evils, and give the *coup de grace* to the British hope of subjugating this continent, either by their arms or their arts. The former, they acknowledge, are unequal to the task; the latter, I am sure, will be so, if we are not lost to every thing that is good and virtuous. 1779.

UNIFORMITY OF CURRENCY, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

Uniformity in the Currency, Weights, and Measures of the United States, is an object of great importance. 1790.

THE MINT.

The disorders in the existing Currency, and especially the scarcity of small change, (a scarcity, so peculiarly distressing to the poorer classes,) strongly recommend the carrying into immediate effect the resolution already entered into, concerning the establishment of a Mint. 1791.

COINAGE.

A coinage of gold, silver, and copper, is a measure which, in my opinion, has become indispensably necessary. Without a coinage, or lest some stop can be put to the cutting and clipping of money, our dollars, pistareens, &c., will be converted, as Teague says, into *five* quarters ; and a man must travel with a pair of scales in his pocket, or run the risk of receiving gold, at one fourth less by weight than it counts. 1785.

The Mint of the United States has entered upon

the coinage of the precious metals, and considerable sums of defective coins and bullion have been lodged with the director, by individuals.

There is a pleasing prospect, that the institution will, at no remote day, realize the expectation which was originally formed of its utility.

6. *THE JUDICIARY.*

CIVIL MAGISTRATES.

The dispensation of justice belongs to the civil magistrate; and let it ever be our pride and our glory, to leave the sacred deposit there inviolate.

1794.

THE JUDICIARY SYSTEM.

I have always been persuaded, that the stability and success of the National Government, and consequently the happiness of the people of the United States, would depend, in a considerable degree, on the interpretation and execution of its laws.

—

In my opinion, it is important, that the Judiciary

System should not only be independent in its operations, but as perfect as possible in its formation.

1790.

7. *AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES AND THE ARTS.*

AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES.

The Agricultural Society lately established in Philadelphia, promises extensive usefulness, if its objects are prosecuted with spirit. I wish, most sincerely, that every State in the Union would institute similar ones; and that these Societies would correspond fully and freely with each other, and communicate to the public all useful discoveries founded on practice, with a due attention to climate, soil, and seasons. 1785.

IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE.

It will not be doubted, that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, Agriculture is of primary importance.

In proportion as nations advance in population

and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil, more and more an object of public patronage. 1796.

THE HUSBANDMAN.

The life of the Husbandman, of all others, is the most delightful. It is honorable, it is amusing, and, with judicious management, it is profitable. 1788.

PROPER CULTIVATION OF LANDS.

Nothing, in my opinion, would contribute more to the welfare of these States, than the proper management of lands. Nothing, in Virginia particularly, seems to be less understood. The present mode of Cropping, practised among us, is destructive to landed property, and must, if persisted in much longer, ultimately ruin the holders of it. 1786.

Within our territories there are no mines either of gold or silver ; and this young nation, just recovering from the waste and desolation of a long war, has not as yet had time to acquire riches by Agriculture and Commerce. But our soil is bountiful, and our people industrious ; and we have reason to flatter

ourselves, that we shall gradually become useful to our friends.* 1789.

AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES.

There are many articles of manufacture, which we stand absolutely in need of, and shall continue to have occasion for, so long as we remain an agricultural people, which will be, while lands are so cheap and plenty, that is to say, for ages to come. 1786.

AGRICULTURE AND SPECULATION.

An extensive Speculation, a spirit of gambling, or the introduction of any thing which will divert our attention from Agriculture, must be extremely prejudicial, if not ruinous, to us. 1787.

AGRICULTURE AND WAR.

For the sake of humanity, it is devoutly to be wished, that the manly employment of Agriculture, and the humanizing benefit of Commerce, would su-

* These words were written to the Emperor of Morocco, with whom, in the year 1786, Mr. Barclay had made a treaty, advantageous to our commercial interests; and Congress had ratified it, in the year 1787.

persede the waste of war, and the rage of conquest; that the swords might be turned into ploughshares, the spears into pruning-hooks, and, as the Scriptures express it, "the nations learn war" no more.

AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND MANUFACTURES.

The advancement of Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures, by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation.

I cannot forbear intimating the expediency of giving effectual encouragement, as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius, in producing them at home. 1790.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

Commerce and Industry are *the best mines* of a nation. 1780.

FOREIGN COMMERCE.

It has long been a speculative question among philosophers and wise men, whether Foreign Commerce is of real advantage to any country; that is, whether the luxury, effeminacy, and corruptions, which are introduced along with it, are counterbalanced by the convenience and wealth which it brings.

The decision of this question is of very little importance to us. We have abundant reason to be convinced, that the spirit of trade, which pervades these States, is not to be restrained. It behooves us, then, to establish just principles; and this cannot, any more than other matters of national concern, be done by thirteen heads differently constructed and organized. The necessity, therefore, of a controlling power, is obvious; and why it should be withheld, is beyond my comprehension. 1785.

COMMERCE AND TRADE.

From trade our citizens will not be restrained; and, therefore, it behooves us to place it in the most convenient channels, under proper regulations, freed, as much as possible, from those vices which luxury, the consequence of wealth and power, naturally introduces. 1784.

A COMMERCIAL SYSTEM.

We are either a united people, under one head and for federal purposes; or we are thirteen independent sovereignties, eternally counteracting each other. If the former, whatever such a majority of the States as the Constitution points out, conceives

to be for the benefit of the whole, should, in my humble opinion, be submitted to by the minority. Let the Southern States always be represented ; let them act more in union ; let them declare, freely and boldly, what is for the interest of, and what is prejudicial to, their constituents ; and there will, there must be, an accommodating spirit. In the establishment of a Navigation Act, this, in a particular manner, ought, and will doubtless be attended to. If the assent of nine States, or, as some propose, of eleven, is necessary to give validity to a Commercial System, it insures this measure, or it cannot be obtained.

1785.

TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Our trade, in all points of view, is as essential to Great Britain, as hers is to us. And she will exchange it, upon reciprocal and liberal terms, if better cannot be had.

Had we not better encourage seamen among ourselves, with less imports, than divide them with foreigners, and, by increasing the amount of them, ruin our merchants, and greatly injure the mass of our citizens?

AMERICAN COMMERCE.

The maritime genius of this country is now steering our vessels in every ocean ; to the East Indies, the

North West coasts of America, and the extremities of the globe. 1788.

However unimportant America may be considered at present, and however Britain may affect to despise her trade, there will assuredly come a day, when this country will have some weight in the scale of empires. 1786.

BRITISH COMMERCE.

There are three circumstances, which are thought to give the British merchants an advantage over all others. First: their *extensive credit*, which, I confess, I wish to see abolished. Secondly: their having in one place *Magazines*, containing all kinds of articles than can be required. Thirdly: their knowledge of the precise kinds of merchandise and fabrics which are wanted. 1788.

COMMERCIAL POLICY OF AMERICA.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest.

Even our Commercial Policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give

trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, Conventional Rules of Intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate ; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for *disinterested* favors from another ; that it must pay, with a portion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character ; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more.

There can be no greater error, than to expect or calculate upon *real favors* from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard. 1796.

DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.

Though I would not force the introduction of Manufactures, by extravagant encouragements, and to the prejudice of Agriculture, yet, I conceive, much might be done in that way, by women, children, and others, without taking one really necessary hand from tilling the earth. 1789.

I have been writing to General Knox, to procure me homespun broadcloth of the Hartford fabric, to

make a suit of clothes for myself. I hope it will not be a great while, before it will be unfashionable for a gentleman to appear in any other dress.

Indeed we have already been too long subject to British prejudices.

I use no porter or cheese in my family, but such as is made in America. Both those articles may now be purchased, of an excellent quality. 1789.

The promotion of Domestic Manufactures will, in my conception, be among the first consequences which may naturally be expected to flow from an energetic government.

For myself, having an equal regard for the prosperity of the farming, trading, and manufacturing interests, I will only observe, that I cannot conceive the extension of the latter, (so far as it may afford employment to a great number of hands, which would be otherwise, in a manner, idle,) can be detrimental to the former.

MANUFACTURES AND THE ARTS.

Captain Barney has just arrived here,* in a miniature ship† called *The Federalist*, and has done me the honor to offer that beautiful curiosity, as a present to

* Mount Vernon.

† Fifteen feet in length, rigged and equipped as a ship.

me, on your* part. I pray you to accept the warmest expressions of my sensibility, for this *specimen of American ingenuity*, in which the exactitude of the proportions, the neatness of the workmanship, and the elegance of the decorations, which make your present fit to be preserved in a Cabinet of Curiosities, at the same time that they exhibit the skill and taste of the artists, demonstrate, that Americans are not inferior to any people whatever, in *the use of mechanical instruments*, and *the art of ship-building*. 1788.

NATIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT OF MANUFACTURES.

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of Manufactures. The object is of too much importance, not to insure a continuance of their efforts, in every way which shall appear eligible. 1796.

* William Smith and others, of the city of Baltimore.

8. *MAILS, ROADS, AND INLAND NAVIGATION.*

POST OFFICE.

I cannot forbear intimating the expediency of facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of the country, by a due attention to the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

CIRCULATION OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE.

It is represented, that some provisions of the law which establishes the Post-Office, operate, in experiment, against the transmission of newspapers to distant parts of the country. Should this, upon due inquiry, be found to be the fact, a full conviction of the importance of facilitating the circulation of political intelligence and information will, I doubt not, lead to the application of a remedy. 1792.

PUBLIC ROADS.

It has been understood, by wise politicians and enlightened patriots, that giving a facility to the means of *travelling*, for strangers, and of *intercourse*, for citi-

zens, was an object of legislative concern, and a circumstance highly beneficial to the country. 1788.

NATIONAL INFLUENCE OF MAILS AND ROADS.

The importance of the Post-Office and Post-Roads, on a plan sufficiently liberal and comprehensive, as they respect the expedition, safety, and facility of communication, is increased, by their instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the Government, which, while it contributes to the security of the people, serves also to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception. 1791.

INLAND NAVIGATION.

It gives me great pleasure, to find a spirit for Inland Navigation prevailing so generally.

No country is more capable of improvements in this way, than our own ; none will be more benefited ; and to begin well is all in all. 1786.

THE LAKES.

I am glad to hear, that the vessels for the Lakes are going on with such industry. Maintaining the superiority over the water, is certainly of infinite impor-

tance. I trust, neither courage nor activity will be wanting in those to whom the business is committed.
1776.

NAVIGATION OF THE LAKES.

I shall be mistaken, if they* do not build vessels for the navigation of the lakes, which will supersede the necessity of coasting on either side. 1784.

* The New-Yorkers.

V. REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Mr. Pitt and Lord Camden were the patrons of America. Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the Colonies. They in effect, divided one half of the empire from the other. JUNIUS' LETTERS, *Jan.* 21, 1769.

I will not, I cannot, enter into the merits of the cause. But I dare say, the American Congress in 1776 will be allowed to be as able, and as enlightened, as the English Convention in 1688; and that their posterity will celebrate the centenary of their deliverance from us, as duly and sincerely as we do ours from the oppressive measures of the wrong-headed house of Stuart. ROBERT BURNS, 1788.

I should be happy to see your Excellency in Europe. Here you would know, and enjoy, what posterity will say of Washington. At present, I enjoy that pleasure for you; as I frequently hear the old generals of this martial country, who study the maps of America, and mark upon them all your operations, speak with sincere approbation and great applause of your conduct; and join in giving you the character of *One of the Greatest Captains of the Age.* BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Passy, France, Mar.* 5, 1780.

WAR, DEPRECATED AS AN EVIL.

My first wish is, to see this plague of mankind banished from the earth, and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements, than in preparing implements, and exercising them, for the destruction of mankind.

Rather than quarrel about territory, let the poor,

the needy, and oppressed of the earth, and those who want land, resort to the fertile plains of our Western Country, the *second land of promise*, and there dwell in peace, fulfilling the first and great commandment.

1785.

—

The friends of humanity will deprecate War, wheresoever it may appear; and we have experience enough of its evils, in this country, to know, that it should not be wantonly or unnecessarily entered upon.

I trust, that the good citizens of the United States will show to the world, that they have as much wisdom in preserving peace at this critical juncture, as they have hitherto displayed valor in defending their just rights. 1793.

—

The madness of the European powers, and the calamitous situation into which all of them are thrown by the present ruinous war, ought to be a serious warning to us, to avoid a similar catastrophe, so long as we can with honor and justice to our national character.

1795.

EUROPEAN BATTLE-FIELDS.

Here have fallen thousands of gallant spirits, to satisfy the ambition of their Sovereigns, or to support them, perhaps, in acts of oppression and injustice! Melancholy reflection! For what wise purpose does Providence permit this? Is it as a scourge to man-

kind, or is it to prevent them from becoming too populous? If the latter, would not the fertile plains of the Western World receive the redundancy of the Old? 1786.

RESORT TO ARMS, IN DEFENCE OF FREEDOM.

At a time, when our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with *nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom*, it seems highly necessary, that something should be done to avert the stroke, and maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. But the *manner* of doing it, to answer the purpose effectually, is the point in question.

—

That no man should scruple, or hesitate a moment, to use arms, in defence of so valuable a blessing, is clearly my opinion.

—

Arms should be the last resource, the *dernier resort.*

—

We have already, it is said, proved the inefficacy of addresses to the Throne, and remonstrances to Parliament. How far, then, their attention to our rights and privileges is to be awakened or alarmed, by *starving their trade and manufactures*, remains to be tried.

NON-IMPORTATION AND DISUSE OF BRITISH COMMODITIES.

The Northern colonies are endeavoring to adopt this scheme. In my opinion, it is a good one, and must be attended with salutary effects, provided it can be carried pretty generally into execution. But to what extent it is practicable to do so, I will not take upon me to determine. That there will be a difficulty attending the execution of it every where, from clashing interests, and selfish, designing men, ever attentive to their own gains, and watchful of every turn that can assist their lucrative views, cannot be denied. In the tobacco colonies, where the trade is so diffused, and in a manner wholly conducted by factors for their principals at home, these difficulties are certainly enhanced, but, I think, not insurmountably increased, if the gentlemen, in their several counties, will be at some pains to explain matters to the people, and stimulate them to cordial agreements, *to purchase none but certain enumerated articles, out of any of the stores, after a definite period,* and neither import nor purchase any themselves.

This, if it should not effectually withdraw the factors from their importations, would at least make them extremely cautious in doing it, as the prohibited goods could be vended to none but the non-associators, or those who would pay no regard to their asso-

ciation; both of whom ought to be stigmatized, and made the objects of public reproach.

—

The more I consider a scheme of this sort, the more ardently I wish success to it, because I think there are private as well as public advantages to result from it,—the former *certain*, however *precarious* the latter may prove.

—

I have always thought, that, by virtue of the same power which assumes the right of taxation, the Parliament may attempt at least to restrain our manufacturers, especially those of a public nature, the same equity and justice prevailing in the one case as the other, it being no greater hardship to forbid my manufacturing, than it is to order me to buy goods loaded with duties, for the express purpose of raising a revenue. But as a measure of this sort would be an additional exertion of arbitrary power, we cannot be placed in a worse condition, I think, by *putting it to the test.*

—

That the colonies are considerably indebted to Great Britain, is a truth universally acknowledged. That many families are reduced, almost, if not quite, to penury, and want, by the low ebb of their fortunes, and that estates are daily selling for the discharge of debts, the public prints furnish too many melancholy proofs.

That a scheme of this sort will contribute more

effectually than any other that can be devised, to extricate the country from the distress it at present labors under, I most firmly believe, if it can be generally adopted.

—

I can see but one class of people, the merchants excepted, who will not, or ought not, to wish well to the scheme; namely, they who live genteelly and hospitably on clear estates. Such as these, were they not to consider the valuable object in view, and the good of others, might think it hard, to be curtailed in their living and enjoyments.

As to the penurious man, he would thereby save his money and his credit, having the best plea for doing that, which before, perhaps, he had the most violent struggles to refrain from doing.

The extravagant and expensive man has the same good plea, to retrench his expenses. He would be furnished with a pretext to live within bounds, and embrace it. Prudence dictated economy before, but his resolution was too weak to put it in practice "How can I," says he, "who have lived in such and such a manner, change my method? I am ashamed to do it; and, besides, such an alteration in the system of my living, will create suspicions of the decay of my fortune; and such a thought the world must not harbor." He continues his course, till at last his estate comes to an end, a sale of it being the consequence of his perseverance in error. This, I am satisfied, is the way, that many, who have set out in the

wrong track, have reasoned, till ruin has stared them in the face.

And in respect to the needy man, he is only left in the *same* situation that he was found in ; *better*, I may say, because, as he judges from comparison, his condition is amended, in proportion as it approaches nearer to those above him.

I think the scheme a good one.

1. *WAR.*

If the title of GREAT MAN ought to be reserved for him who cannot be charged with an indiscretion or a vice, who spent his life in establishing the independence, the glory, and durable prosperity of his country ; who succeeded in all that he undertook, and whose successes were never won at the expense of honor, justice, integrity, or by the sacrifice of a single principle,—this title will not be denied to Washington. JARED SPARKS.

THE PATRIOT'S ALTERNATIVE.

Unhappy it is, to reflect, that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast, and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are either to be *drenched with blood*, or *inhabited by slaves*.

Sad alternative ! But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice ? 1775.

THE SPIRIT OF '76.

The hour is fast approaching, on which the honor and success of the army, and the safety of our bleeding country, will depend. Remember, Officers and Soldiers, that *you are freemen, fighting for the blessings of liberty ;* that slavery will be your portion and that of your posterity, if you do not acquit yourselves like men.

—

Remember, how your courage and spirit have been despised and traduced by your cruel invaders ; though they have found, by dear experience, at Boston, Charlestown, and other places, what a few brave men, contending in their own land and in the best of causes, can do against hirelings and mercenaries.

—

Be cool, but determined. Do not fire, at a distance ; but wait for orders from your Officers.

—

It is the General's express orders, that, if any man attempt to skulk, lie down, or retreat without orders, he be instantly shot down, as an example. He hopes, no such will be found in this army ; but, on the contrary, that every one, for himself resolving to conquer or die, and trusting in the smiles of Heaven upon so just a cause, will behave with bravery and resolution.

Those who are distinguished for their gallantry

and good conduct, may depend upon being honorably noticed and suitably rewarded ; and if this army will but emulate and imitate their brave countrymen in other parts of America, he has no doubt they will, by a glorious victory, save their country, and acquire to themselves immortal honor. 1776.

MILITARY INFLUENCE OF CONGRESS.

If I may be allowed to speak figuratively, our Assemblies, in politics, are to be compared to the wheels of a clock, in mechanics. The whole, for the general purposes of war, should be set in motion by the great wheel, Congress ; and, if all will do their parts, the machine will work easily ; but a failure in one disorders the whole. Without the large one, which sets the whole in motion, nothing can be done. It is the united wisdom and exertions of the whole in Congress, that we are to depend upon. Without this, we are no better than a rope of sand, and as easily broken asunder. 1782.

2. *THE ARMY.*

To you, my dear General, the Patriarch and Generalissimo of universal liberty, I shall render exact accounts of the conduct of your Deputy and Aid in that great cause. LAFAYETTE, *March 7*, 1791.

It is to warriors alone that it belongs, to designate the place which Washington shall occupy among famous captains. His successes appear to have more of solidity than of eclat, and judgment predominates rather than enthusiasm, in the manner of his command and his warfare. FONTANES, 1800.

Patient, watchful, provoked into no rashness, frightened into no delay, cautious in his approach, bold and desperate in his onset, calm and collected in retreat, he moves at the head of his brave, but ill-furnished and distracted army, like a pillar of fire. J. T. HEADLEY.

THE SOLDIER'S DUTY.

With hope and confidence, the General most earnestly exhorts every Officer and Soldier, to pay the utmost attention to his arms and health ; to have the former in the best order for action, and, by cleanliness and care, to preserve the latter ; to be exact in discipline, obedient to superiors, and vigilant on duty.

With such preparation, and a suitable spirit, there can be no doubt but, by the blessing of Heaven, we shall repel our cruel invaders, preserve our country, and gain the greatest honor.

—

The General hopes, that every man's mind and arms will be prepared for action, and, when called to it, show our enemies and the whole world, that free-

men, contending on their own land, are superior to any mercenaries on earth.

The General calls upon Officers and men, to act up to the noble cause in which they are engaged, and to support the honor and liberties of their country.

If any Officers leave their posts before they are regularly drawn off and relieved, or shall, directly or indirectly, cause any soldier to do the like, they shall be punished, as far as martial law will extend, without fear or mitigation.

THE ARMY, AGENTS OF CIVIL POWER.

The army are the mere agents of civil power. Out of camp, they have no other authority than other citizens ; and their offences against the laws are to be examined, not by a military officer, but by a magistrate. They are not exempt from arrests and indictments for violations of the laws.

MAXIMS FOR OFFICERS.*

Be strict in your discipline. Require nothing unreasonable of your officers and men ; but see, that whatever is required be punctually complied with.

* Sent by Washington to Colonel William Woodford, at his request, in the year 1775.

Reward and punish every man according to his merit, without partiality or prejudice. Hear his complaints. If they are well-founded, redress them ; if otherwise, discourage them, in order to prevent frivolous ones.

—

Discourage vice, in every shape.

—

Impress upon the mind of every man, from the first to the lowest, the importance of the cause, and what it is he is contending for.

—

Be easy and condescending in your deportment to your officers ; but not too familiar, lest you subject yourself to a want of that respect, which is necessary to support a proper command.

PATRIOT SOLDIERS.

Men who are not employed as mere hirelings, but have stepped forth in defence of every thing that is dear and valuable, not only to themselves but to posterity, should take uncommon pains to conduct themselves with the greatest propriety and good order, as their honor and reputation call loudly upon them to do it. 1776.

TWO VIEWS OF DANGER.

Men who are familiarized to danger, meet it without shrinking; whereas troops unused to service, often apprehend danger where no danger is.

THE THREE INCENTIVES, IN BATTLE.

Three things prompt men to a regular discharge of their duty, in time of action: *natural bravery*, *hope of reward*, and *fear of punishment*.

REGULARS AND RECRUITS.

Natural bravery and hope of reward are common to the untutored and the disciplined soldier; but fear of punishment most obviously distinguishes the one from the other.

THE COWARD'S BRAVERY.

A coward, when taught to believe, that, if he breaks his ranks and abandons his colors, he will be punished with death by his own party, will take his chance against the enemy; but a man who thinks little of the one, and is fearful of the other, acts from present feelings, regardless of consequences.

RAW MILITIA.

Men just dragged from the tender scenes of domestic life, unaccustomed to the din of arms, totally unacquainted with every kind of military skill, (which is followed by want of confidence in themselves, when opposed to troops regularly trained, disciplined, and appointed, superior in knowledge, and superior in arms,) are timid, and ready to fly from their own shadows.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOT'S ONLY FEAR.

The virtue, spirit, and union in the provinces, leave them nothing to fear, but the want of ammunition. 1775.

MILITARY RANK, THE PEOPLE'S GIFT.

I cannot conceive one more honorable, than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people,—the purest source and original fountain of all power.

THE FREEMAN'S HEREDITARY PRIVILEGES.

Under God's providence, those who influence the counsels of America, and all other inhabitants of the

United Colonies, at the hazard of their lives, are determined to hand down to posterity those just and invaluable privileges, which they received from their ancestors. 1775.

THE SOLDIER'S MOTTO.

Perseverance and spirit have done wonders in all ages.

SPIES.

Single men in the night will be more likely to ascertain facts, than the best glasses in the day.

SURPRISALS OF THE ENEMY.

The usual time for exploits of this kind is a little before day ; for which reason a vigilant officer is then more on the watch. I therefore recommend a midnight hour.

A dark night, and even a rainy one, if you can find the way, will contribute to your success.

PAROLE.

Several of our officers have broken their paroles, and stolen away. This practice, ignominious to them-

selves, dishonorable to the service, and injurious to the officers of sentiment and delicacy, who remain behind to experience the rigors of resentment and distrust on their account, cannot be tolerated, whatever be the pretence.

I have made a point of sending those back, that have come under my observation ; and I must desire you will do the same towards those who fall under yours. 1777.

—

A conduct of this kind demands that every measure should be taken, to deprive them of the benefit of their delinquency, and to compel their return. 1779.

REGULAR TROOPS, SUPERIOR TO MILITIA.

Regular troops alone are equal to the exigencies of modern war, as well for defence as offence ; and, whenever a substitute is attempted, it must prove illusory and ruinous.

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No Militia will ever acquire the habits necessary to resist a regular force. Even those nearest to the seat of war, are only valuable as light troops, to be scattered in the woods, and harass rather than do serious injury to the enemy.

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The firmness requisite for the real business of

fighting, is only to be attained, by a constant course of discipline and service. I have never yet been witness to a single instance, that can justify a different opinion; and it is most earnestly to be wished, that the liberties of America may no longer be trusted, in any material degree, to so precarious a dependence. 1780.

MILITARY POWER.

I confess, I have felt myself greatly embarrassed, with respect to a vigorous exercise of military power. An ill-placed humanity, perhaps, and a reluctance to give distress, may have restrained me too far; but these were not all. I have been well aware of the present jealousy of military power; and that this has been considered as an evil much to be apprehended, even by the best and most sensible among us. Under this idea, I have been cautious, and wished to avoid, as much as possible, any act that might increase it. 1777.

The people at large are governed much by custom. To acts of legislation or civil authority they have ever been taught to yield a willing obedience, without reasoning about their propriety; on those of Military Power, whether immediate, or derived originally from another source, they have ever looked with a jealous and suspicious eye. 1777

Extensive powers, not exercised as far as was neces-

sary, have, I believe, scarcely ever failed to ruin the possessor. 1780.

I conceive it to be a right, inherent in command, to appoint particular officers for special purposes. 1781.

MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

I beg, that you will be particularly careful, in seeing *strict order* observed among the soldiers. as that is the life of military discipline.

Do we not know, that every nation under the sun finds its account therein, and that, without it, no order or regularity can be observed? Why, then, should it be expected from us, who are all young and inexperienced, to govern and keep up a proper spirit of discipline, without laws, when the best and most experienced can scarcely do it with them? If we consult our interest, I am sure it loudly calls for them. 1755.

SUBORDINATION.

One circumstance in this important business ought to be cautiously guarded against; and that is, the Soldiers and Officers being too nearly on a level.

Discipline and Subordination add life and vigor to military movements.

The person commanded yields but a reluctant obedience, to those who, he conceives, are undeservedly made his superiors. The degrees of rank are frequently transferred from civil life into the departments of the army. The true criterion to judge by, when past services do not enter into the competition, is, to consider whether the candidate for office has a just pretension to the character of a gentleman, a proper sense of honor, and some reputation to lose. 1777.

A refusal to obey the commands of a superior officer, especially where the duty required was evidently calculated for the good of the service, cannot be justified, without involving consequences subversive of all military discipline. A precedent, manifestly too dangerous, would be established, of dispensing with orders, and subordination would be at an end, if men's ideas were not rectified in a case of this kind, and such notice taken, as has been, on my part. 1778.

IMPRUDENT CONVERSATION OF OFFICERS.

The custom, which many Officers have, of speaking freely of things, and reprobating measures, which, upon investigation, may be found to be unavoidable, is never productive of good, but often of very mischievous consequences. 1778.

MUTINY.

When we consider, that the Pennsylvania levies who have now mutinied, are *Recruits and Soldiers of a Day*, who have not borne the heat and burden of the war, and who can have, in reality, very few hardships to complain of; and when we at the same time recollect, that those soldiers who have lately been furloughed from this army are the *Veterans*, who have patiently endured hunger, nakedness, and cold, who have suffered and bled without a murmur, and who, with perfect good order, have retired to their homes without a settlement of their accounts, or a farthing of money in their pockets; we shall be as much astonished at the virtues of the latter, as we are struck with horror and detestation at the proceedings of the former; and every candid mind, without indulging ill-grounded prejudices, will undoubtedly make the proper discrimination. 1783.

THE WESTERN INSURRECTION.*

I exhort all individuals, officers, and bodies of men, to contemplate with abhorrence the measures leading, directly or indirectly, to those crimes which produce

* Combinations against the Constitution and laws of the United States, in the western counties of Pennsylvania, from opposition to duties upon spirits distilled within the United States, and upon stills.

this resort to military coercion ; to check, in their respective spheres, the efforts of misguided or designing men to substitute their misrepresentations in the place of truth, and their discontents in the place of stable government ; and to call to mind, that, as the people of the United States have been permitted, under the Divine favor, in perfect freedom, after solemn deliberation, in an enlightened age, to elect their own government, so will their gratitude for this inestimable blessing be best distinguished, by firm exertions to maintain the Constitution and the laws. 1794.

LOYALTY

The spirit which blazed out on this occasion,* as soon as the object was fully understood, and the lenient measures of the government were made known to the people, deserves to be communicated. There are instances of General Officers going at the head of a single troop, and of light companies ; of Field Officers, when they came to the places of rendezvous, and found no command for them in that grade, turning into the ranks, and proceeding as private soldiers, under their own captains ; and of numbers, possessing the first fortunes in the country, standing in the ranks as private men, and marching, day by day, with their knapsacks and haversacks at their backs, sleeping on

* The quelling of the Pennsylvania insurrection.

straw, with a single blanket, in a soldier's tent, during the frosty nights which we have had, by way of example to others. Nay, more; many young Quakers, of the first families, character, and property, not discouraged by the elders, have turned into the ranks, and are marching with the troops. 1794.

"ARMY OF THE CONSTITUTION."

The quelling of the Pennsylvania insurrection has demonstrated, that our prosperity rests on solid foundations. My fellow-citizens understand the true principles of *government* and *liberty*. They feel their *inseparable union*. Notwithstanding all the devices which have been used, to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasion, as they were to defend their rights against usurpation.

It has been a spectacle, displaying, to the highest advantage, the value of Republican Government, to behold the most and the least wealthy of our citizens, standing in the same ranks, as Private Soldiers, pre-eminently distinguished by being THE ARMY OF THE CONSTITUTION; undeterred by a march of three hundred miles over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement.

Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation which I experienced,

from the Chief Magistrates of the States to which my requisitions have been addressed.

To every description of citizens, indeed, let praise be given. But let them persevere, in their affectionate vigilance over that precious depository of American happiness, the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. Let them cherish it, too, for the sake of those who, from every clime, are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And when, in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have traced the origin and progress of the Insurrection, let them determine, whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who, careless of consequences, and disregarding the unerring truth, that those who rouse cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole Government. 1794.

COURTS-MARTIAL.

It is a fundamental maxim in our military trials, that the Judge-Advocate prosecutes, in the name and in behalf of the United States. 1779.

PUNISHMENTS.

It appears to me indispensable, that there should be an extension of the present corporal punishment,

and that it would be useful, to authorize Courts-Martial, to sentence delinquents to labor on public works; perhaps, even for some crimes, particularly desertion, to transfer them from the *land* to the *sea* service, where they have less opportunity to indulge their inconstancy.

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A *variety* in punishment is of utility, as well as a *proportion.*

—

The number of lashes may either be indefinite, left to the discretion of the Court, or limited to a larger number. In this case, I would recommend five hundred.*

ORDER AND HARMONY.

In order to preserve harmony and correspondence in the system of the army, there must be *a controlling power*, to which the several departments are to refer.

If any department is suffered to act independently of the Officer Commanding, collisions of orders and confusion of affairs will be the inevitable consequences.

1779.

* In the code then existing, the highest corporal punishment allowed was a hundred lashes. There was no intermediate punishment, between that and death.

MILITARY EVOLUTIONS.

Well organized troops may, and ought to, move like clockwork, where the component parts discharge their respective duties, with propriety and exactness.

MILITARY EMULATION.

I have labored, ever since I have been in the service, to discourage all kinds of *local* attachments, and distinctions of *country*, denominating the whole by the greater name of "AMERICAN;" but I have found it impossible to overcome prejudice. And under the new establishment, I conceive it best to stir up an *emulation;* in order to do which, would it not be better, for each State to furnish, though not to appoint, their own brigadiers? 1776.

THE SOLDIER AND THE CITIZEN.

When we assumed the Soldier, we did not lay aside the Citizen.

We shall most sincerely rejoice, with you, in that happy hour, when the establishment of American liberty, upon the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations, in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country.

1775.

THE FABIAN POLICY.

I am sensible, a retreating army is encircled with difficulties; that declining an engagement subjects a general to reproach; and that the common cause may be affected, by the discouragement it may throw over the minds of many.

Nor am I insensible of the contrary effects, if a brilliant stroke could be made, with any probability of success, especially after our loss on Long Island.

But when the fate of America may be at stake on the issue, when the wisdom of cooler moments and experienced men have decided, that we should *protract the war if possible*, I cannot think it safe or wise to adopt a different system, when the season for action draws so near to a close. 1776.

WAR OF POSTS.

On our side, the war should be defensive. It has ever been called *a war of posts.* We should, on all occasions, avoid a general action, and not put any thing to the risk, unless compelled by a necessity into which we ought never to be drawn.

MOTIVES FOR A CHANGE OF POLICY.

It was not difficult for me to perceive, that, if we entered into a serious contest with France, the character of the war would differ materially from the last we were engaged in. In the latter, time, caution, and worrying the enemy, until we could be better provided with arms and other means, and had better disciplined troops to carry it on, was the plan for us. But if we should be engaged with the former, they ought to be attacked at every step. 1798.

IMPORTANCE OF HARMONY AMONG THE TROOPS.

Enjoin this upon the Officers, and let them inculcate and press home upon the Soldiery, *the necessity of order and harmony* among those who are embarked in one common cause, and mutually contending for all that freemen hold dear.

I am persuaded, if the Officers will but exert themselves, that these animosities and disorders will, in a great measure, subside ; and nothing being more essential to the service, than that they should, I hope nothing on their part will be wanting, to effect it.

1776.

THE ARMY, A BAND OF BROTHERS.

My first wish would be, that my military family and the whole army should consider themselves as a

band of brothers, willing and ready to die for each other. 1798.

THE BEST SOLDIER, THE BEST PATRIOT.

The General most earnestly entreats the Officers and Soldiers, to consider the consequences ; that they can no way assist our enemies more effectually, than by making divisions among themselves ; that the honor and success of the army, and the safety of our bleeding country, depend upon harmony and good agreement with each other ; that the Provinces are all united to oppose the common enemy ; and all distinctions sunk in the name of AN AMERICAN.

To make this name honorable, and to preserve the liberty of our country, ought to be our only emulation ; and he will be *the best Soldier and the best Patriot*, who contributes most to this glorious work, whatever his station, or from whatever part of the continent he may come.

Let all distinctions of nations, countries, and provinces, therefore, be lost, in the generous contest, who shall behave with the most courage against the enemy, and the most kindness and good humor to each other.

If there be any Officers or Soldiers so lost to virtue and a love of their country, as to continue in such practices, after this order, the General assures them, and is authorized by Congress to declare to the whol

army, that such persons shall be severely punished, and dismissed from the service with disgrace. 1776.

THE TOWNS AND THE ARMY.

I am well convinced, that the enemy, long ere this, are perfectly well satisfied, that the possession of our towns, while we have an army in the field, will avail them little. It involves us in difficulty, but does not by any means ensure conquest to them. They well know, that it is our arms, not defenceless towns, which they have to subdue, before they can arrive at the haven of their wishes ; and that, till this is accomplished, the superstructure they have been endeavoring to raise, will, " like the baseless fabric of a vision," fall to nothing. 1778.

THE ARMY AND THE PEOPLE.

I shall continue to exert all my influence and authority, to prevent the interruption of that harmony which is so essential, and which has so generally prevailed, between the Army and the Inhabitants of the Country. And I need scarcely add, that, in doing this, I shall give every species of countenance and support to the execution of the laws of the land.

1782.

The Army and the Country have a mutual dependence upon each other ; and it is of the last importance, that their several duties should be so regulated and enforced, as to produce, not only the greatest harmony and good understanding, but the truest happiness and comfort to each. 1778.

WANTON DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.

The burning of houses, where the apparent good of the service is not promoted by it, and the pillaging of them, at all times and upon all occasions, are to be discountenanced, and punished with the utmost severity.

It is to be hoped, that men who have property of their own, and a regard for the rights of others, will shudder at the thought of rendering any man's situation, to whose protection he has come, more insufferable than his open and avowed enemy would make it ; when, by duty and every rule of humanity, they ought to aid, and not oppress, the distressed, in their habitations.

The distinction between a well-regulated army and a mob, is the good order and discipline of the former, and the licentious and disorderly behavior of the latter. 1776.

PLUNDERING.

The General does not admit of any pretence for plundering ; whether it be Tory property, taken beyond the lines, or not, it is equally a breach of orders. and to be punished, in the Officer who gives order, or the Soldier. 1776.

It is our business to give protection and support to the poor distressed inhabitants, not to multiply and increase their calamities. 1777.

SEIZURE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

It will never answer, to procure supplies of cloth-ing or provisions, by *coercive* measures. Such procedures may give a momentary relief ; but, if repeated, will prove of the most pernicious consequence. 1778.

THE FAMILIES OF SOLDIERS, MAINTAINED.

All that the common soldiery of any country can expect, is food and clothing.

The pay given, in other armies, is little more than nominal ; very low in the first instance, and subject to a variety of deductions, that reduce it to nothing. This is the case with the British troops ; though, I

believe, they receive more than those of any other State in Europe.

The idea of *maintaining the families* of the Soldiers, at the public expense, is peculiar to us, and is incompatible with the finances of the government.

Our troops have been uniformly better fed than any others. They are, at this time, very well clad, and probably will continue to be so. While this is the case, they will have no just cause of complaint.

OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS ; THEIR SUPPORT.

It will be of importance, to conciliate the comfortable support of the Officers and Soldiers, with a due respect to economy.

THE SOLDIER'S PERSONAL SACRIFICES.

When men are employed, and have the incitements of military honor to encourage their ambition and pride, they will cheerfully submit to inconveniences, which, in a state of tranquillity, would appear insupportable.

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There is no set of men in the United States, considered as a body, that have made the same sacrifices of their interest, in support of the common cause, as the *Officers* of the American army. Nothing but

a love of their country, of honor, and a desire of seeing their labors crowned with success, could possibly induce them to continue one moment in service. No Officer can live upon his pay; and hundreds having spent *their little all* in addition to their scanty public allowance, have resigned, because they could no longer support themselves as Officers. Numbers are, at this moment, rendered unfit for duty, for want of clothing, while the rest are wasting their property, and some of them verging fast to the gulf of poverty and distress.

1780.

I am growing old in my country's service, and losing my sight; but I never doubted its justice or its gratitude. 1783.

CHARACTER AND SUFFERINGS OF THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION.

No order of men in the Thirteen States have paid a more sacred regard to the proceedings of Congress, than THE ARMY.

Without arrogance, or the smallest deviation from truth, it may be said, that no history, now extant, can furnish an instance of an army's suffering such uncommon hardships as ours has done, and bearing them with the same patience and fortitude.

To see men, without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie on, without shoes, (for the want of which *their marches might be traced by*

the blood of their feet,) and almost as often without provisions as with them, marching through the frost and snow, and at Christmas taking up their winter-quarters, within a day's march of the enemy ; without a house or hut to cover them, till they could be built ; and submitting, without a murmur ; is a proof of patience and obedience, which, in my opinion, can scarce be paralleled. 1778.

The more its virtue and forbearance are tried, the more resplendent it appears.

My hope is, that the military exit of this valuable class of the community will exhibit such a proof of *amor patriæ*, as will do them honor in the page of history. 178[illegible].

THE "PATRIOT ARMY."

The glorious task, for which we first flew to arms, being accomplished ; the liberties of our country being fully acknowledged, and firmly secured by the smiles of Heaven, on the purity of our cause, and the honest exertions of a feeble people, determined to be free, against a powerful nation disposed to oppress them ; and the character of those who have persevered through every extremity of hardship, suffering, and danger, being immortalized, by the illustrious appellation of the "PATRIOT ARMY ;" nothing now remains, but for

the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect, unvarying consistency of character, through the very last act, to close the drama with applause, and to retire from the military theatre, with the same approbation of angels and men, which has crowned all their former virtuous actions. 1783.

They were, at first, a band of undisciplined husbandmen ; but it is, under God, to their bravery and attention to their duty, that I am indebted, for that success, which has procured me the only reward I wish to receive, the affection and esteem of my countrymen. 1776.

Seconded by such a body of yeomanry, as repaired to the standard of liberty, fighting in their own native land, fighting for all that freemen hold dear, and whose docility soon supplied the place of discipline, it was scarcely in human nature, under its worst character, to abandon them in their misfortunes ; nor is it for me to claim any singular merit for having shared in a common danger, and triumphed with them, after a series of the severest toil and most accumulated distress, over a formidable foe. 1790.

THE CINCINNATI SOCIETY.

There is not, I conceive, an unbiassed mind, that would refuse the officers of the late army the right

of associating, for the purpose of establishing a fund for the support of the poor and distressed of their fraternity, when many of them, it is well known, are reduced to their last shifts, by the ungenerous conduct of their country, in not adopting more vigorous measures to render their certificates productive.

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The motives, which induced the officers to enter into it, were, I am positive, truly and frankly recited in the institution ; one of which, and the principal, was to establish a charitable fund, for the relief of such of their compatriots, and the widows and descendants of them, as were fit objects for such support, and for whom no provision had been made by the public.

But, the trumpet being sounded, the alarm spread far and wide.

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When the Society was formed, I am persuaded not a member of it conceived, that it would give birth to those jealousies, or be charged with those dangers, real or imaginary, with which the minds of many, and of some respectable characters in these States, seem to be agitated.

—

I am perfectly convinced, that, if the first institution of this Society had not been parted with, ere this we should have had the country in an uproar, and a line of separation drawn between this Society and their fellow-citizens.

The alterations, which took place at the last general meeting, have quieted the clamors, which in many of the States were rising to a great height.

1785.

That *charity* is all that remains of the original institution, none, who will be at the trouble of examining it, can deny.

ARMS AND ACCOUTREMENTS OF THE PATRIOT ARMY.

I must beg the liberty, to suggest to Congress, an idea, which has been hinted to me, and which has affected my mind, very forcibly. That is, that, at the discharge of the men for the war, Congress should suffer those men, non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers, to take with them, as their own property, and as a gratuity, the Arms and Accoutrements they now hold.

This act would raise pleasing sensations in the minds of those worthy and faithful men, who, from their early engaging in the war at moderate bounties, and from their patient continuance under innumerable distresses, have not only deserved nobly of their country, but have obtained an honorable distinction over those, who, with shorter times, have gained large pecuniary rewards.

This, at a comparatively small expense, would be deemed an honorable testimonial from Congress, of

the regard they bear to those distinguished worthies, and the sense they have had of their sufferings, virtues, and services, which have been so happily instrumental, towards the establishment and security of the rights, liberties, and independence of this rising empire.

These constant companions of their toils, preserved with sacred attention, would be handed down from the present possessors to their children, as HONORARY BADGES OF BRAVERY AND MILITARY MERIT; and would probably be brought forth, on some future occasion, with pride and exultation, to be improved with the same military ardor and emulation, in the hands of posterity, as they have been used by their forefathers, in the present establishment and foundation of our national independence. 1783.

A STANDING ARMY.

I am persuaded, and as fully convinced as I am of any one fact that has happened, that our liberties must of necessity be hazarded, if not entirely lost, if their defence is left to any but a permanent Standing Army: I mean, one to exist *during the war*. 1776.

It becomes evident to me, that, as this contest is not likely to be the work of a day, as the war must be carried on systematically, (and to do it you must have good officers,) there are no other possible means

to obtain them, but by establishing an army upon a *permanent footing*, and giving the officers good pay.

This will induce gentlemen, and men of character, to engage ; and, till the bulk of the officers is composed of such persons as are actuated by principles of honor and a spirit of enterprise, you have little to expect from them. They ought to have such allowances, as will enable them to live like, and support the character of, gentlemen, and not be driven, by a scanty pittance, to the low and dirty arts which many of them practise, to filch from the public more than the difference of pay would amount to, upon an ample allowance.

Besides, something is due to the man who puts his life in your hands, hazards his health, and forsakes the sweets of domestic enjoyment. Why a Captain, in the Continental Service, should receive no more than *five shillings currency* per day, for performing the same duties that an officer of the same rank in the British service receives *ten shillings sterling* for, I never could conceive ; especially when the latter is provided with every necessary he requires, upon the best terms, and the former can scarce procure them, at any rate.

There is nothing that gives a man consequence, and renders him fit to command, like a support that renders him independent of every body but the State he serves. 1776.

Had we kept a permanent army on foot, the en-

emy could have had nothing to hope for, and would, in all probability, have listened to terms, long since.

1780.

ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE OF A STANDING ARMY.

I most firmly believe, the independence of the United States never will be established, till there is an army on foot for the war ; and that, if we are to rely on occasional or annual levies, we must sink under the expense, and ruin must follow.

PREJUDICES AGAINST A STANDING ARMY.

The commonly received opinion, under proper limitations is certainly true, that Standing Armies are dangerous to the State.

The prejudices, in other countries, have only gone to them *in time of peace ;* and these, from their not having, in general cases, any of the ties, the concerns, or interests, of citizens, or any other dependence than what flowed from their military employ ; in short, from their being mercenary hirelings.

It is our policy, to be prejudiced against them, *in time of war ;* though they are citizens, having all the ties and interests of citizens, and, in most cases, property totally unconnected with the military line.

If we would pursue a right system of policy, in my opinion, there should be none of these distinctions.

We should all, Congress and army, be considered as one people, embarked in one cause, in one interest; acting on the same principle, and to the same end.

1778.

From long experience and the fullest conviction, I have been, and now am, decidedly in favor of a Permanent Force. But, knowing the jealousies which have been entertained on this head, (Heaven knows how unjustly, and the cause of which could never be apprehended, were a due regard had to our local and other circumstances, even if ambitious views could be supposed to exist,) and that our political helm was in another direction, I forbore to express my sentiments, for a time; but, at a moment when we are tottering on the brink of a precipice, silence would have been criminal.

A TEMPORARY ARMY, INEFFECTUAL.

To suppose, that this great Revolution can be accomplished by a *temporary* army, that this army will be subsisted by State supplies, and that taxation alone is adequate to our wants, is, in my opinion, absurd, and as unreasonable as to expect an inversion in the order of nature to accommodate itself to our views.

The waste of provision they make, is unaccountable ; no method or order in being served, or purchasing at the best rates, but quite the reverse.

Allowance for each man, as in the case of other soldiers, they look upon as the highest indignity, and would sooner starve, than carry a few days' provision on their backs, for conveniency. But upon their march, when breakfast is wanted, they knock down the first beef they meet with ; and, after regaling themselves, march on till dinner, when they take the same method; and so for supper, to the great oppression of the people. Or if they chance to impress cattle for provision, the valuation is left to ignorant and interested neighbors, who have suffered by those practices, and, despairing of their pay, exact high prices, and thus the public is imposed upon at all events.

I might add, I believe, that, *for want of proper laws to govern the Militia*, (I cannot ascribe it to any other cause,) they are obstinate, self-willed, perverse, of little or no service to the people, and very burdensome to the country.

Every individual has his own crude notions of things, and must undertake to direct. If his advice is neglected, he thinks himself slighted, abused, and injured ; and, to redress his wrongs, will depart for his home.

These are literally matters of fact, partly from per-

sons of undoubted veracity, but chiefly from my own observations. 1756.

THE MILITIA OF THE UNITED STATES.

This is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of the community, or to the preservation of order. 1791.

HALF-PAY ESTABLISHMENT.

I have declared, and I now repeat it, that I never will receive the smallest benefit from the Half-pay Establishment. But, as a man who fights under the weight of a proscription, and as a citizen who wishes to see the liberty of his country established upon a permanent foundation, and whose property depends upon the success of our arms, I am deeply interested.

Upon the single ground of economy and public saving, I will maintain the utility of it ; for I have not the least doubt, that, until officers consider their commissions in an honorable and interested point of view, and are afraid to endanger them by negligence and inattention, no order, regularity, or care, either of the men or public property, will prevail.

To prove this, I need only refer to the general courts-martial, which are constantly sitting for the

trial of them, and the number who have been cashiered, within the last three months, for misconduct of different kinds. 1778.

THE AMERICAN CONTRASTED WITH THE BRITISH SERVICE.

The difference between our service and that of the enemy, is very striking. With *us*, from the peculiar, unhappy situation of things, the Officer, a few instances excepted, must break in upon his private fortune, for present support, without a prospect of future relief. With *them*, even companies are esteemed so honorable and so valuable, that they have sold for, of late, from fifteen to twenty-two hundred pounds sterling. And I am credibly informed, that four thousand guineas have been given for a troop of dragoons. 1778.

PATRIOTISM, AND INTEREST.

Men may speculate as they will ; they may talk of patriotism ; they may draw a few examples, from ancient story, of great achievements performed by its influence ; but whoever builds upon them, as a sufficient basis for conducting a long and bloody war, will find himself deceived, in the end.

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We must take the passions of men, as nature has

given them, and those principles, as a guide, which are generally the rule of action. I do not mean to exclude, altogether, the idea of Patriotism. I know it exists. And I know it has done much, in the present contest. But I will venture to assert, that a great and lasting war can never be supported, on this principle. It must be aided, by a prospect of interest, or some reward. For the time, it may, of itself, push men to action, to bear much, to encounter difficulties ; but it will not endure, unassisted by interest.

PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.

There can be little doubt, that Congress will recommend a proper Peace Establishment for the United States, in which due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the Militia of the Union upon a regular and respectable footing.

If this should be the case, I would beg leave to urge the great advantage of it, in the strongest terms.

The Militia of this country must be considered as the Palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility. It is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole ; that the formation and discipline of the Militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform ; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT, AND ECONOMY.

Nothing can be more obvious, than that a sound Military Establishment and the interests of economy are the same. 1780.

FOREIGN OFFICERS IN THE ARMY.

Our troops being already formed and fully officered, and the number of foreign gentlemen, already commissioned, and continually arriving with fresh applications, throw such obstacles in the way of any future appointments, that every new arrival is only a new source of embarrassment to Congress and myself, and of disappointment and chagrin to the gentlemen who come over.

Had there been only a few to provide for, we might have found employment for them, in a way advantageous to the service, and honorable to themselves. But, as they have come over in such crowds, we either must not employ them, or we must do it at the expense of one half of the Officers of the army; which would be attended with the most ruinous effects, and could not fail to occasion a general discontent. 1777.

It is impossible, for these gentlemen to raise men for themselves. And it would be equally impolitic and unjust, to displace others, who have been at all

the trouble and at considerable expense in raising corps, in order to give them the command.

Even when vacancies happen, there are always those who have a right of succession by seniority, and who are as tenacious of this right as of the places they actually hold ; and in this they are justified by the common principles and practice of all armies, and by resolutions of Congress. Were these vacancies to be filled by the foreign officers, it would not only cause the resignation of those who expect to succeed to them, but it would serve to disgust others, both through friendship to them, and from an apprehension of their being liable to the same inconvenience themselves. This, by rendering the hope of preferment precarious, would remove one of the principal springs of emulation, absolutely necessary to be upheld in the army. 1777.

RANK, LAVISHLY BESTOWED ON FOREIGNERS.

The lavish manner in which rank has hitherto been bestowed on these gentlemen, will certainly be productive of one or the other of these two evils ; either to make it despicable in the eyes of Europe, or become the means of pouring them in upon us like a torrent, and adding to our present burden.

But it is neither the expense nor trouble of them that I most dread. There is an evil, more extensive

in its nature, and fatal in its consequences, to be apprehended ; and that is, the driving of all our own officers out of the service, and throwing not only our army, but our military councils, entirely into the hands of Foreigners.

NATIVE OFFICERS.

The officers on whom you most depend for the defence of this cause, distinguished by length of service, their connections, property, and, in behalf of many, I may add, military merit, will not submit, much if any longer, to the unnatural promotion of men over them, who have nothing more than a little plausibility, unbounded pride and ambition, and a perseverance in application not to be resisted but by uncommon firmness, to support their pretensions ; men, who, in the first instance, tell you they wish for nothing more than the honor of serving in so glorious a cause as volunteers, the next day solicit rank without pay, the day following want money advanced to them, and in the course of a week want further promotion, and are not satisfied with any thing you can do for them.

When I speak of officers not submitting to these appointments, let me be understood to mean, that they have no more doubt of their right to resign, when they think themselves aggrieved, than they have of a power in Congress to appoint. Both being granted, then, the expediency and the policy of the measure remain

to be considered; and whether it is consistent with justice and prudence, to promote these military fortune-hunters, at the hazard of the army. 1778.

THREE CLASSES OF FOREIGN OFFICERS.

They may be divided into three classes; namely,—1. *Mere adventurers*, without recommendation, or recommended by persons who do not know how else to dispose of or provide for them;—2. *Men of great ambition*, who would sacrifice every thing to promote their own personal glory;—or, 3. *Mere spies*, who are sent here to obtain a thorough knowledge of our situation and circumstances, in the execution of which, I am persuaded, some of them are faithful emissaries, as I do not believe a single matter escapes unnoticed, or unadvised at a foreign court. 1778.

UNDUE PROMINENCE OF FOREIGNERS.

The ambition of these men, (I do not mean of the Messieurs Neuville in particular, but of the natives of their country and foreigners in general,) is unbounded. And the singular instances of rank which have been conferred upon them, in but too many cases, have occasioned great dissatisfaction and general complaint. The feelings of our own officers have been hurt by it,

and their ardor and love for the service greatly damped.

Should a like proceeding still be practised, it is not easy to say what extensive murmurings and consequences may ensue.

I will still further add, that we have already a full proportion of foreign officers in our general councils; and, should their number be increased, it may happen, upon many occasions, that their voices may equal, if not exceed, the rest. 1778.

AMERICAN NATIONAL PREDILECTIONS.

I trust you * think me so much of a citizen of the world, as to believe I am not easily warped or led away, by attachments merely local or American. Yet I confess I am not entirely without them; nor does it appear to me, that they are unwarrantable, if confined within proper limits.

Fewer promotions, in the foreign line, would have been productive of more harmony, and made our warfare more agreeable to all parties. The *frequency* of them is a source of jealousy, and of disunion. We have many, very many deserving officers, who are not opposed to merit wheresoever it is found, nor insensible to the advantages derived from a long service in an experienced army, nor to the principles of policy.

* President Laurens.

Where any of these principles mark the way to rank, I am persuaded, they yield a becoming and willing acquiescence; but where *they are not* the basis, they feel severely. 1778.

To place them at the head of companies, over officers that have been at great trouble, pains, and expense, in raising men, would be both unmilitary and unjust.

It will be well, in all cases of foreign and indeed other applications, that the consequences which granting them will involve, should be maturely weighed, and taken in every point of view. 1777.

THE NATIONAL POLICY AS TO FOREIGNERS.

It is not the policy of this country, to employ aliens, where it can well be avoided, either in the civil or military walks of life. 1779.

It does not accord with the policy of this government, to bestow offices, civil or military, upon Foreigners, *to the exclusion of our own citizens.* 1779.

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S BODY-GUARD.

I want to form a company for my Guard. In doing this, I wish to be extremely cautious, because

it is more than probable, that, in the course of the campaign, my baggage, papers, and other matters of great public import, may be committed to the sole care of these men.

This being premised, in order to impress you * with proper attention in the choice, I have to request, that you will immediately furnish me with four men of your regiment; and, as it is my further wish, that this company should look well and be nearly of a size, I desire that none of the men may exceed in stature five feet ten inches, nor fall short of five feet nine inches; sober, young, active, and well made.

When I recommend care in your choice, I would be understood to mean, men of good character in the regiment, that possess the pride of appearing clean and soldier-like. I am satisfied, that there can be no absolute security for the fidelity of this class of people, but yet I think it most likely to be found, in those who have family connections in the country. You will therefore send me none but natives, and men of some property, if you have them. I must insist, that, in making this choice, you give no intimation of my preference of natives, as I do not want to create any invidious distinction between them and the foreigners.

1777.

* Colonel Alexander Spotswood.

HIRING BRITISH DESERTERS.

It gives me inexpressible concern, to have repeated information from the best authority, that the Committees of the different towns and districts, in your State,* hire deserters from General Burgoyne's army, and employ them as substitutes, to excuse the personal service of the inhabitants.

I need not enlarge upon the danger of substituting, as soldiers, men who have given a glaring proof of a treacherous disposition, and who are bound to us by no motives of attachment, instead of citizens, in whom the ties of country, kindred, and sometimes property, are so many securities for their fidelity.

The evils with which this measure is pregnant, are obvious ; and of such a serious nature as make it necessary, not only to stop the further progress of it, but likewise to apply a retrospective remedy, and, if possible, to annul it, so far as it has been carried into effect. 1778.

ENLISTING PRISONERS OF WAR.

In my opinion, it is neither consistent with the rules of war, nor politic. Nor can I think, that, because our enemies have committed an unjustifiable action, by enticing, and, in some instances, intimida-

* Massachusetts.

ting, our men into their service, we ought to follow their example. 1777.

ENLISTING DESERTERS.

I never gave any encouragement to enlisting Deserters. I have ever found them of the greatest injury to the service, by debauching our men ; and I had therefore given positive orders, to all recruiting officers, *not to enlist them upon any terms.*

The Congress have since made an express resolve against it ; and also against enlisting Prisoners. 1778.

ENLISTING FREE NEGROES.

It has been represented to me, that the Free Negroes who have served in this army, are very much dissatisfied at being discarded. As it is to be apprehended, that they may seek employ in the ministerial army, I have presumed to depart from this resolution respecting them, and have given license for their being enlisted. 1781

ARMING SLAVES.

The policy of our arming slaves is, in my opinion a moot point, unless the enemy set the example.

1779.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

It is not my wish, that severity should be exercised, toward any whom the fortune of war has thrown, or shall throw, into our hands. On the contrary, it is my desire, that the utmost humanity should be shown them. I am convinced, that the latter *has* been the prevailing line of conduct to prisoners.

There have been instances, in which some have met with less indulgence than could be wished, owing to refractory conduct and a disregard of parole. If there are other instances, in which a strict regard to propriety has not been observed, they have not come to my knowledge. 1776.

THE HESSIANS.

I advised the Council of Safety, to separate the Hessian prisoners from their officers, and canton them in the German counties. If proper pains are taken, to convince them, how preferable the situation of their countrymen, the inhabitants of those counties, is to theirs, I think they may be sent back in the spring, so fraught with a love of liberty and property too, that they may create a disgust to the service, among the remainder of the foreign troops, and widen that breach which is already opened between them and the British. 1776.

One thing I must remark in favor of the Hessians ; and that is, that our people who have been prisoners, generally agree, that they received much kinder treatment from them, than from the British officers and soldiers. 1777.

MAJOR STOCKTON AND HIS OFFICERS.

I am informed, that General Putnam sent to Philadelphia, *in irons*, Major Stockton, taken upon the Raritan, and that he continues in strict confinement. I think, we ought to avoid putting in practice what we have so loudly complained of, the cruel treatment of prisoners.

I desire, that, if there is a necessity for confinement, it may be made as easy and comfortable as possible to Major Stockton and his officers. This man, I believe, has been very active and mischievous ; but we took him in arms, as *an officer of the enemy*, and, by the rules of war, we are obliged to treat him as such, and *not as a felon.* 1777.

COMFORT OF PRISONERS.

I enjoy too much pleasure in softening the hardships of captivity, to withhold any comfort from prisoners ; and I beg you * to do me the justice to con-

* General Howe.

clude, that no requisition of this nature that should be made, will ever be denied. 1777.

Unnecessary severity, and every species of insult, I despise ; and, I trust, none will ever have just reason to censure me, in this respect. 1777.

GENEROUS TREATMENT OF A CONQUERED ENEMY.

Your * indulgent opinion of my character, and the polite terms in which you are pleased to express it, are peculiarly flattering. I take pleasure in the opportunity you have afforded me, of assuring you, that, far from suffering the views of *national opposition* to be embittered and debased by *personal animosity*, I am ever ready to do justice to the merit of the man and soldier, and to esteem where esteem is due, however the idea of a *public enemy* may interpose.

You will not think it the language of unmeaning ceremony, if I add, that sentiments of *personal respect*, in the present instance, are reciprocal.

Viewing you in the light of an Officer, contending against what I conceive to be the rights of my country, the reverses of fortune you experienced in the field cannot be unacceptable to me ; but, abstracted from considerations of *national advantage*, I can sincerely sympathize with your feelings *as a soldier*, the un-

* General Burgoyne.

avoidable difficulties of whose situation forbade his success; and *as a man*, whose lot combines the calamity of ill health, the anxieties of captivity, and the painful sensibility for reputation exposed, where he most values it, to assaults of malice and detraction.

1778.

LETTERS TO PRISONERS, FROM THEIR BRITISH FRIENDS.

I shall ever be happy, to relieve the anxiety of parted friends; and where letters are calculated either to this end, or to effect matters of mere private concern, they will have the earliest conveyance. 1778.

THE KING'S TRUMPETER.

The conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, in detaining John Miller, requires neither palliation nor excuse. I justify and approve it. There is nothing so sacred, in the character of the King's Trumpeter, even when sanctified by a flag, as to alter the nature of things, or to consecrate infidelity and guilt.

He was a deserter from the army under my command; and whatever you * have been pleased to assert to the contrary, it is the practice of war and nations, to seize and punish deserters, wherever they may be found. His appearing in the character he

* Sir William Howe.

did, was an aggravation of his offence, inasmuch as it added insolence to infamy.

My scrupulous regard to the privileges of flags, and a desire to avoid every thing that partiality itself might affect to consider as a violation of them, induced me to send orders for the release of the trumpeter, before the receipt of your letter; the improper and peremptory terms of which, had it not been too late, would have strongly operated to produce a less compromising conduct.

I intended, at the same time, to assure you, and I wish it to be remembered, that my indulgence, in this instance, is not to be drawn into precedent; and that, should any deserters from the American army hereafter have the daring folly to approach our lines, in a similar manner, they will fall victims to their rashness and presumption. 1778.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

Were an opinion once to be established, (and the enemy and their emissaries know very well how to inculcate it, if they are furnished with a plausible pretext,) that we designedly avoided an exchange, it would be a cause of dissatisfaction and disgust, to the country and to the army, of resentment and desperation to our officers and soldiers.

To say nothing of the importance of not hazarding our national character but upon the most solid

grounds, especially in our embryo state, from the influence it may have on our affairs abroad, it may not be a little dangerous to beget in the minds of our countrymen a suspicion, that we do not pay the strictest observance to the maxims of honor and good faith.

1778.

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Imputations of this nature would have a tendency to unnerve our operations, by diminishing that respect and confidence, which are essential to be placed in those who are at the head of affairs, either in the civil or military line. This, added to the prospect of hopeless captivity, would be a great discouragement to the service. The ill consequences of both would be immense, by increasing the causes of discontent in the army, which are already too numerous, and many of which are, in a great measure, unavoidable; by fortifying that unwillingness, which already appears too great, toward entering into the service, and of course impeding the progress both of drafting and recruiting; by dejecting the courage of the soldiery, from an apprehension of the horrors of captivity; and finally, by reducing those, whose lot it is to drink the bitter cup, to a despair, which can only find relief, by renouncing their attachment, and engaging with their captors.

The effects have already been experienced in part, from the obstacles that have lain in the way of exchanges. But if these obstacles were once to seem the result of *system*, they would become tenfold.

Nothing has operated more disagreeably upon the minds of the militia, than the fear of captivity, on the footing on which it has hitherto stood. What would be their reasonings, if it should be thought to stand upon a worse?

EXCHANGE OF OFFICERS.

I am convinced, that more mischief has been done by the British officers who have been prisoners, than by any other set of people. During their captivity, they have made connections in the country, they have confirmed the disaffected, converted many ignorant people, and frightened the lukewarm and timid, by their stories of the power of Britain.

I hope a general exchange is not far off, by which means we shall get rid of all that sort of people; and I am convinced, that we had better, in future, send all officers in upon parole, than keep them among us.

1778.

3. *THE INDIANS.*

Few men exhibit greater diversity, or, if we may so express it, greater antithesis of character, than the native warrior of North America. In war, he is daring, boastful, cunning, ruthless, self-denying, and self-devoted; in peace, just, generous, hospitable, revengeful, superstitious, modest, and commonly chaste.

J. FENIMORE COOPER.

If they had the vices of savage life, they had the virtues also. They were true to their country, their friends, and their homes. If they forgave not injury, neither did they forget kindness. *Chief Justice* JOSEPH STORY.

Washington's policy in regard to the Indians was always pacific and humane. He considered them as children, who should be treated with tenderness and forbearance. He aimed to conciliate them by good usage, to obtain their lands by fair purchase and punctual payments, to make treaties with them on terms of equity and reciprocal advantage, and strictly to redeem every pledge. JARED SPARKS.

THEIR CLAIM TO JUSTICE AND HUMANITY.

While the measures of government ought to be calculated to protect its citizens from all injury and violence, a due regard should be extended to those Indian tribes, whose happiness, in the course of events, so materially depends on the national justice and humanity of the United States. 1789.

JUSTICE PLEDGED TO THEM.

The basis of our proceedings with the Indian Nations has been, and shall be, JUSTICE, during the

period in which I have any thing to do with the administration of this government. 1790.

AMICABLE INTERCOURSE WITH THEM.

It is sincerely to be desired, that all need of coercion in future may cease, and that an intimate intercourse may succeed, calculated to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States.

It seems necessary, that they should experience the benefits of an *impartial dispensation of justice*; that the mode of alienating their lands, the main source of discontent and war, should be so defined and regulated, as to obviate impositions, and, as far as may be practicable, controversy concerning the reality and extent of the alienations which are made; that commerce with them should be promoted, under regulations tending to secure an equitable deportment towards them, and that such rational experiments should be made, for imparting to them the blessings of civilization, as may, from time to time, suit their condition; that the Executive of the United States should be enabled to employ the means to which the Indians have long been accustomed, for uniting their immediate interests with the preservation of peace; and that efficacious provision should be made, for inflicting adequate penalties upon all those who, by violating

their rights, shall infringe the treaties, and endanger the peace of the Union. 1791.

PEACE WITH INDIANS.

A disposition to peace, in these people, can only be ascribed to the apprehension of danger, and would last no longer than till it was over, and an opportunity offered to resume their hostility, with safety and success.

This makes it necessary, that we should endeavor to punish them severely, for what has passed, and by an example of rigor, intimidate them for the future. 1779.

INDIAN TRADE.

A trade with the Indians should be established, upon such terms, and transacted by men of such principles, as would at the same time redound to the reciprocal advantage of the Colony and the Indians, and effectually remove the bad impressions which the Indians have received, from the conduct of a set of villains, divested of all faith and honor; and give us such an early opportunity of establishing an interest with them, as would insure to us a large share of the fur-trade, not only of the Ohio Indians, but, in time, of the numerous nations possessing the back country westward. 1758.

To prevent this advantageous commerce from suffering in its infancy, by the sinister views of designing, selfish men, in the different provinces, I humbly conceive it advisable, that Commissioners from each of the colonies should be appointed, to regulate the mode of that trade, and fix it on such a basis, that all the attempts of one colony to undermine another, and thereby weaken and diminish the general system, might be frustrated. 1758.

PURCHASE OF INDIAN LANDS.

There is nothing to be obtained but the soil they live on; and this can be had by purchase, at less expense, and without that bloodshed and those distresses, which helpless women and children are made partakers of, in all kinds of disputes with them. 1783.

PRESENTS TO INDIANS.

The plan of Annual Presents, in an abstract view, unaccompanied with other measures, is not the best mode of treating ignorant savages, from whose hostile conduct we experience much distress; but, it is not to be forgotten, that they in turn are not without serious causes of complaint, from the encroachments which are made on their lands by our people, who are

not to be restrained by any law now in being, or likely to be enacted.

They, poor wretches, have no press, through which their grievances are related. And it is well known, that, when one side only of a story is heard and often repeated, the human mind becomes impressed with it, insensibly.

The annual presents, however, are not given so much with a view to purchase peace, as by way of contribution for injuries not otherwise to be redressed. 1795.

Such is the nature of Indians, that nothing will prevent their going where they have any reason to expect presents ; and their cravings are insatiable.

RESIDENT INDIAN AGENTS.

To enable, by competent rewards, the employment of qualified and trusty persons, to reside among them as Agents, would contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighborhood. If, in addition, an eligible plan could be devised, for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes, and for carrying on trade with them, upon a scale equal to their wants, and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence, in cementing their interests with ours, could not but be considerable. 1792.

INDIAN DRESS: ITS ADOPTION IN THE ARMY.

My men are very bare of regimental clothing, and I have no prospect of supply. So far from regretting this want, during the present campaign, if I were left to pursue my own inclinations, I would not only order *the men to adopt the Indian dress*, but cause *the officers* to do it also; and be the first to set the example myself.

Nothing but the uncertainty of obtaining the general approbation, causes me to hesitate a moment, to leave my regimentals, and proceed, as light as an Indian in the woods.

It is an unbecoming dress, I own, for an officer. But convenience, rather than show, I think, should be consulted.

The reduction of bat-horses * alone, would be sufficient to recommend it; for, nothing is more certain, than that less baggage would be required, and the public benefited in proportion. 1758.

It is evident, that soldiers, *in that trim*, are better able to carry their provisions, are fitter for the active service we must engage in, less liable to sink under the fatigues of a march; and we thus get rid of much baggage, which would lengthen our line of march.

These, and not whim or caprice, were my reasons for ordering this dress. 1758.

* Baggage-horses.

It occurs to me, that if you * were to dress a company or two of true woodsmen, *in Indian style*, and let them make the attack, with screaming and yelling, as the Indians do, it would have very good consequences. 1777.

TOW-CLOTH HUNTING-SHIRTS.

The Continental Congress recommends my procuring, from the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, a quantity of tow-cloth, for the purpose of making Indian or hunting-shirts for the men, many of whom are destitute of clothing.

It is designed as a species of uniform, both cheap and convenient. 1775.

MODE OF INDIAN WARFARE.

However absurd it may appear, it is nevertheless certain, that five hundred Indians have it more in their power to annoy the inhabitants, than ten times their number of regulars. Besides the advantageous way they have of fighting in the woods, their cunning and craft, their activity and patient sufferings, are not to be equalled. They prowl about, like wolves; and, like them, do their mischief by stealth. They depend upon their dexterity in hunting, and upon the cattle of the inhabitants, for provisions. 1756.

* Col. Daniel Morgan.

INDIANS TO BE OPPOSED TO INDIANS.

Unless we have Indians to oppose Indians, we may expect but small success. 1756.

A small number, just to point out the wiles and tricks of the enemy, is better than none. 1756.

THE WAR TO BE CARRIED INTO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

My ideas of contending with the Indians, has been uniformly the same. I am clear in the opinion, that the cheapest, (though this may also be attended with great expense,) and most effectual mode of opposing them, where they can make incursions upon us, is *to carry the war into their own country ;* for, supported on the one hand, by the British, and enriching themselves with the spoils of our people, they have every thing to gain, and nothing to lose, while we act on the defensive ; whereas, the direct reverse would be the consequence of an offensive war on our part. 1779.

MARKSMEN.

Great care should be observed, in choosing active marksmen. The manifest inferiority of inactive per-

sons, unused to arms, in this kind of service, (although equal in numbers,) to men who have practised hunting, is inconceivable. The chance against them, is more than two to one. 1756.

MODE OF ATTACKING INDIANS.

I suggest, as general rules that ought to govern our operations, to *make*, rather than *receive*, attacks, attended with as much impetuosity, shouting, and noise, as possible ; and to make the troops act, in as loose and dispersed a way as is consistent with a proper degree of government, concert, and mutual support.

It should be previously impressed upon the minds of the men, whenever they have an opportunity, to rush on, with the war-whoop and fixed bayonet. Nothing will disconcert and terrify the Indians, more than this. 1779.

INDIAN TREACHERY.

Great caution is necessary, to guard against the snares which their treachery may hold out.

Hostages are the only kind of security to be depended on.

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS, IN WAR.

By a resolve of Congress, I am empowered to employ a body of four hundred Indians, if they can be procured upon proper terms.

Divesting them of the savage customs exercised in their wars against each other, I think they may be made of excellent use, *as scouts and light troops*, mixed with our own parties.

I propose to raise about one half the number, among the southern, and the remainder, among the northern, Indians.

The Oneidas have manifested the strongest attachment to us, throughout this dispute, and therefore, I suppose, if any can be procured, they will be most numerous. Their missionary, Mr. Kirkland, seemed to have an uncommon ascendency over that tribe; and I should therefore be glad to see him accompany them. 1778.

VI. ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY.

The English Government has sufficient reason to consider the French in North America, as the best guardians of the submission of their colonies.

PETER KALM, 1756.

The cabinet of Versailles was compelled by good policy, to regard the supremacy of England over Canada, as a valuable source of inquietude and jealousy to the Americans. The neighborhood of a formidable enemy, necessarily enhanced the value which they attached to the friendship and support of the French monarch.

L. DI SEVELINGUES.

The French court, though mortified by the loss of Canada, was by no means insensible of the disadvantageous position in which Britain was placed, relatively to her own colonies, by the acquisition of it. In the commencement of their revolutionary struggle, the Americans besought the aid of France, not only to free them from the yoke of Britain, but to enable them to conquer Canada, Nova Scotia, and Florida.

JAMES GRAHAME.

EMANCIPATION OF CANADA.

The Emancipation of Canada, is an object which Congress have much at heart. 1778.

ACCESSION OF CANADA.

It is a measure much to be wished ; and, I believe, would not be displeasing to the body of the people.

While Carleton * remains among them, with three or four thousand troops, they dare not avow their sentiments, if really they are favorable, without a strong support.

REASONS FOR ACCESSION.

If that country is not with us ;—from its proximity to the Eastern States, its intercourse and connection with the numerous tribes of western Indians, its communication with them by water, and other local advantages, it will be at least *a troublesome, if not a dangerous, neighbor* to us ; and ought, at all events, to be in the same interest and politics as the other States.

THE CANADIAN EXPEDITION.

The question of the Canadian expedition, in the form in which it now stands, appears to me one of the most interesting that has hitherto agitated our national deliberations.

OBJECTION TO THE EXPEDITION.

I have one objection to it, which is, in my estimation, insurmountable, and alarms all my feelings for

* The Governor of Quebec.

the true and permanent interests of my country. This is, the introduction of a large body of French troops into Canada, and putting them in possession of the capital of that province, attached to them by all the ties of blood, habits, manners, religion, and former connection of government. I fear, this would be too great a temptation to be resisted, by any power actuated by the common maxims of national policy.

1778.

FRANCE'S INTEREST IN CANADA.

Let us realize, for a moment, the striking advantages France would derive from the possession of Canada; the acquisition of an extensive territory, abounding in supplies, for the use of her islands; the opening a vast source of the most beneficial commerce with the Indian nations, which she might then monopolize; the having ports of her own, on this continent, independent of the precarious good-will of an ally; the engrossing of the whole trade of Newfoundland, whenever she pleased, the finest nursery of seamen in the world; the security afforded to her islands; and, finally, the facility of awing and controlling these States, the natural and most formidable rival of every maritime power in Europe.

Canada would be a solid acquisition to France, on all these accounts, and because of the numerous inhabitants, subjects to her by inclination, who would

aid in preserving it under her power, against the attempts of every other.

FRANCE'S APPREHENDED ASCENDENCY.

France, acknowledged, for some time past, the most powerful monarchy in Europe, by land; able now to dispute the empire of the sea with Great Britain, and, if joined by Spain, I may say, certainly superior; possessed of New Orleans on our right, Canada on our left; and seconded by the numerous tribes of Indians in our rear, from one extremity to the other, a people so generally friendly to her, and whom she knows so well how to conciliate, would, it is much to be apprehended, have it in her power, to *give law to these States.*

EVIL OF FRENCH TROOPS IN CANADA.

Suppose, that, when the five thousand French troops, (and, under the idea of that number, twice as many might be introduced,) had entered the city of Quebec, they should declare an intention to hold Canada, as a pledge and surety for the debts due to France from the United States, or, under other specious pretences, hold the place till they can find a bone of contention, and, in the mean while, should excite the Canadians to engage in supporting their

pretences and claims, what should we be able to say, with only four or five thousand men to carry on the dispute? It may be supposed, that France would not choose to renounce our friendship, by a step of this kind, as the consequence would be reunion with England, on some terms or other, and the loss of what she had acquired in so violent and unjustifiable a manner, with all the advantages of an alliance with us. This, in my opinion, is too slender a security against the measure, to be relied on.

DANGER FROM FRANCE'S NAVAL ASCENDENCY.

If France and Spain should unite, and obtain a decided superiority by sea, a reunion with England would avail us very little, and might be set at defiance.

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France, with a numerous army at command, might throw in what number of land forces she thought proper, to support her pretensions. And England, without men, without money, and inferior on her favorite element, could give no effectual aid to oppose them.

Resentment, Reproaches, and Submission, seem to be all that would be left to us.

EXCESSIVE CONFIDENCE IN AN ALLY.

Men are very apt to run into extremes. Hatred to England may carry some into an excess of confidence in France, especially when motives of gratitude are thrown into the scale.

Men of this description, would be unwilling to suppose France capable of acting an ungenerous part.

—

I am heartily disposed to entertain the most favorable sentiments of our new ally, and to cherish them in others, to a reasonable degree. But it is a maxim, founded on the universal experience of mankind, that no nation is to be trusted, further than it is bound by its interest ; and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it.

In our circumstances, we ought to be particularly cautious ; for we have not yet attained sufficient vigor and maturity, to recover from the shock of any false step into which we may unwarily fall. 1778.

INVASION OF CANADA.

I have uniformly made *the departure of the enemy from these States*, an essential condition to the invasion of Canada. 1779.

VII. THE NAVY.

In a short time, we shall have at least *thirty ships of war*, from thirty-eight guns downwards, besides (if the ministry carry on their piratical war) a great number of privateers. THE REMEMBRANCER, Pt. III. p. 31. 1776.

Navigation will carry the American flag around the globe itself; and display the *thirteen stripes* and *new constellation*, at Bengal and Canton, on the Indus and Ganges, on the Whang-ho and the Yang-tse-kiang; and with commerce will import the wisdom and literature of the East. EZRA STILES, *Pres. of Yale College*, 1783.

COMMERCE AND THE NAVY.

To an active external Commerce, the protection of a naval force is indispensable.

SHIPS OF WAR.

Will it not be advisable to begin, without delay, to provide and lay up the materials, for the building and the equipping of *Ships of War*, and to proceed in the work by degrees, in proportion as our resources may render it practicable, without inconvenience; so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present? 1796.

NATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF A NAVAL FORCE.

It is in our experience, that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war.

To secure respect to a neutral flag, requires a Naval Force, organized, and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression.

This may prevent even the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party, as may, first or last, leave no other option.

A NAVAL FORCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

From the best information I have been able to obtain, it would seem as if our trade in the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be insecure, and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have just been relieved.

1796.

THE GRADUAL CREATION OF A NAVY.

Various considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a Navy.

The increasing progress of their navigation, promises them, at no distant period, the requisite supply of seamen ; and their means, in other respects, favor the undertaking. It is an encouragement, likewise, that their particular situation will give weight and influence to a moderate naval force in their hands.

VIII. NATIONAL DEFENCE.

While Washington sought peace, and urged a faithful discharge of every duty toward others, he recommended, that prompt measures should be taken, not only for defence, but for enforcing just claims. JARED SPARKS.

War was not a game in which he sought amusement at the expense of others, but a LAST RESORT, in whose dangers and toils he always bore his full share, and from which he sought release, as soon as conscience and honor would permit. *The spirit in which he contended*, was that which secured *the favor of a righteous Providence*, and *the approbation of all good men*. E. C. M'GUIRE, D. D.

MEASURES FOR DEFENCE.

To be prepared for war, is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

NATIONAL MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined. To this end, a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite.

HOME MILITARY SUPPLIES.

Our safety and our interest require, that we should promote such manufactures, as tend to render us independent of others, for essential, particularly *military*, supplies.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.

The safety of the United States, under Divine protection, ought to rest on the basis of systematic and solid arrangement, exposed, as little as possible, to the hazards of fortuitous circumstances. 1791.

A CONDITION OF DEFENCE.

I cannot recommend measures for the fulfilment of our duties to the rest of the world, without pressing the necessity of placing ourselves in *a condition of complete defence*, and of exacting from them the fulfilment of their duties towards us. 1793.

READINESS FOR WAR.

The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that, contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a distance those painful ap-

peals to arms, with which the history of every nation abounds.

There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness.

If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it.

If we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known, that we are, *at all times, ready for war.* 1793.

OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS.

Offensive operations, oftentimes, are the *surest*, if not in some cases the *only*, means of defence.

ATTACK, OFTEN THE BEST DEFENCE.

It has been, very properly, the policy of our government to cultivate peace. But, in contemplating the possibility of our being driven to unqualified war, it will be wise to anticipate, that, frequently, *the most effectual way to defend is to attack.* 1798.

IX. NATIONAL EDUCATION.

How can man be intelligent, happy, or useful, without the culture and discipline of education? It is this that unlocks the prison-house of his mind, and releases the captive. REV. DR. HUMPHREY.

Education is the chief defence of nations. EDMUND BURKE.

POPULAR EDUCATION.

Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.

—

In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

EVILS OF FOREIGN EDUCATION.

It has always been a source of serious regret, with me, to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries, for the purposes of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed

any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own; contracting, too frequently, not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but *principles unfriendly to Republican Government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind,* which thereafter are rarely overcome. 1794.

—

We ought to deprecate the hazard attending ardent and susceptible minds, from being too strongly, and too easily, prepossessed, in favor of other political systems, before they are capable of appreciating their own. 1795.

—

It is with indescribable regret, that I have seen the youth of the United States, migrating to foreign countries, in order to acquire the higher branches of erudition, and to obtain a knowledge of the sciences. 1795.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

That a National University, in this country, is a thing to be desired, has always been my decided opinion; and the appropriation of grounds and funds for it, in the Federal City, has long been contemplated. 1794.

—

True it is, that our country, much to its honor, contains many seminaries of learning, highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest, are too narrow to command the ablest professors, in the

different departments of liberal knowledge, for the institution contemplated, though they would be excellent auxiliaries.

—

Among the motives to such an institution, the assimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, well deserves attention. 1796.

—

The more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union. And a primary object of such a National Institution, should be the education of our youth in the SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT.

In a Republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important? And what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan, for communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country? 1796.

MILITARY EDUCATION.

I flatter myself, that, under a skilful Commander, or man of sense, (which I most sincerely wish to serve under,) with my own application and diligent study of my duty, I shall be able to conduct my steps without censure, and, in time, render myself worthy of the promotion that I shall be favored with now. 1754.

OFFICERS URGED TO GAIN KNOWLEDGE FROM BOOKS.

Remember, that actions, and not the commission, make the Officer. More is expected from him than the title.

Do not forget, that there ought to be a time appropriated, to attain knowledge, as well as to indulge in pleasure.

As we now have no opportunities to improve from example, *let us read*, for this desirable end. 1755.

MILITARY ACADEMY.

The establishment of an institution of this kind, upon a respectable and extensive basis, has ever been considered by me, as an object of primary importance to this country; and, while I was in the chair of Government, I omitted no proper opportunity of recommending it, in my public speeches and otherwise, to the attention of the legislature. 1799.

The institution of a Military Academy is recommended by cogent reasons. However pacific the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge, for emergencies. The first would impair the energy of its character, and both would hazard its safety, or expose

it to greater evils, when war could be avoided: besides, that war might often not depend upon its own choice.

—

In proportion as the observance of pacific measures might exempt a nation from the necessity of practising the rules of the military art, ought to be its care in preserving, and transmitting, by proper establishments, the knowledge of that art. 1796.

—

Whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples, superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince, that the art of war is at once comprehensive and complicated, that it demands much previous study, and that the possession of it, in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation.

This, therefore, ought to be a serious care of every government; and, for this purpose, an Academy, where a regular course of instruction is given, is an obvious expedient, which different nations have successfully employed. 1796.

THE ARTS AND SCIENCES, OF NATIONAL INTEREST.

The Arts and Sciences essential to the prosperity of the State, and to the ornament and happiness of

human life, have a primary claim to the encouragement of every lover of his country and of mankind. 1780.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

I shall, with zeal, embrace every opportunity of seconding their laudable views, and manifesting the exalted sense I have of the institution. 1781.

INFLUENCE OF LEARNING.

I am not a little flattered, by being considered, by the patrons of literature, as one of their number. Fully apprised of the influence which sound learning has on religion and manners, on government, liberty, and laws, I shall only lament my want of abilities to make it still more extensive. 1789.

IMPORTANCE OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE ARTS.

There is nothing which can better deserve your* patronage, than the promotion of Science and Literature. 1790.

Nothing can give me more pleasure, than to patronize the essays of genius, and a laudable cultivation

* Congress.

of the arts and sciences, which had began to flourish in so eminent a degree, before the hand of oppression was stretched over our devoted country.

I shall esteem myself happy, if a poem* which has employed the labor of years, will derive any advantage, or bear more weight in the world, by making its appearance under a dedication to me. 1778.

COMPREHENSIVE VIEWS OF COLLEGE EDUCATION.

I rely fully in your† strenuous endeavors for placing the system on such a basis, as will render it most beneficial to the State, and the republic of letters, as well as to the more extensive interests of humanity and religion.

KNOWLEDGE AMONG THE PEOPLE.

Knowledge is, in every country, the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours, it is proportionably essential.

To the security of a free constitution it contributes,

* The Rev. Dr. Dwight's "Conquest of Canaan," dedicated to Washington, by permission.

† He had accepted the Chancellorship of William and Mary College, and addressed these words to the Trustees of the institution.

in various ways: by convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration, that every valuable end of government is best answered, by the enlightened confidence of the people; and by teaching the people themselves, to know and to value their own rights, to discern and provide against the invasions of them, to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority, between burdens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience, and those resulting from the inevitable exigences of society, to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy and temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws.

Whether this desirable object will be best promoted, by affording aids to Seminaries of Learning already established, by the institution of a National University, or by any other expedients, will be worthy of a place in the deliberations of the legislature. 1790.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

I entertain a high idea of the utility of periodical publications, insomuch that I could heartily desire copies of the Museum,* and *magazines*, as well as *com-*

* The "American Museum," published by Matthew Carey, at Philadelphia, to disseminate political, agricultural, philosophical, and other valuable information, and to reposit public documents.

mon gazettes, might be spread through every city, town, and village in America.

I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge more happily calculated than any other, to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry, and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free people. 1788.

Washington served us chiefly by his sublime moral qualities.

To him belonged the proud distinction of being the leader in a revolution, without awakening one doubt or solicitude, as to the spotless purity of his purpose. His was the glory of being the brightest manifestation of the spirit which reigned in this country; and in this way he became a source of energy, a bond of union, the centre of an enlightened people's confidence.

By an instinct which is unerring, we call Washington, with grateful reverence, the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, but not its *Saviour*. A people which wants a Saviour, which does not possess an earnest and pledge of freedom in its own heart, is not yet ready to be free.

WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

The admiration with which Washington is regarded by all civilized nations, shows him to be one of the few among mankind, to whom is given an immortality more durable than brass or marble, and whose spotless and beneficent memory is cherished by the latest posterity.

FREDERICK VON RAUMER.

The character of nations is often influenced by that of their founders.

ROSWELL W. LEWIS.

II.

SOCIAL MAXIMS.

After such services, which consecrate your name to all posterity, with what home-felt satisfaction must your future days be blest! Heaven crown them with every favor! May you live long, my dear General, and long have the joy to see the increasing splendor and prosperity of a rising nation, aided by your counsels, and defended by your sword! Indulge me the pleasure to believe, that I have a place in your recollections, and still honor and make me happy in your friendship. JOHN HANCOCK, *Oct.* 15, 1783.

You have wisely retired from public employments, and calmly view, from the temple of Fame, the various exertions of that sovereignty and independence, which Providence has enabled you to be so greatly and gloriously instrumental in securing to your country. Yet, I am persuaded, that you cannot view them with the eye of an unconcerned spectator. JOHN JAY, 1786.

He was one of those virtuous citizens, to whom the world refuses the credit of genius, because they are not beset with a destructive restlessness, nor devoured with the ambition of domineering over mankind; but who really deserve the name of GREAT, better than many others, because their number is rare. FELIX BODIN.

SOCIAL MAXIMS.

I. FRIENDSHIP.

In mourning the loss of the Man of the Age, I equally mourn that of the long-tried patron,—the kind a .d unchanging friend. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *Dec.* 1799.

Every mark of friendship I receive from you, adds to my happiness, is I love you with all the sincerity and warmth of my heart; and the sentiment I feel for you goes to the very extent of my affections. LAFAYETTE, *May*, 1781.

LOVE AND GRATITUDE OF A FRIEND.

Your * forward zeal in the cause of liberty; your singular attachment to this infant world; your ardent and persevering efforts, not only in America, but since your return to France, to serve the United States; your polite attentions to Americans, and your strict and

* The Marquis de Lafayette.

uniform friendship for *me*, have ripened the first impressions of esteem and attachment which I imbibed for you, into such *perfect love and gratitude*, as neither time nor absence can impair. 1779.

PARTING EMOTIONS.

In the moment of our * separation, upon the road as I travelled, and every hour since, I have felt all that love, respect, and attachment for you, with which length of years, close connection, and your merits have inspired me.

I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight I should ever have of you. And though I wished to say No, my fears answered Yes.

I called to mind the days of my youth, and found they had long since fled, to return no more ; that I was now descending the hill I had been fifty-two years climbing ; and that, though I was blessed with a good constitution, I was of a short-lived family, and might soon expect to be entombed in the mansion of my fathers.

These thoughts darkened the shades, and gave a gloom to the picture, and consequently to my prospect of seeing you again.

But I will not repine ; I have had my day. 1784.

* Lafayette.

PERPETUITY OF FRIENDSHIP.

It is my wish, that the mutual friendship and esteem, which have been planted and fostered in the tumult of public life, may not wither and die in the serenity of retirement.

—

We should amuse our evening hours of life, in cultivating the tender plants, and bringing them to perfection, before they are transplanted to a happier clime.

FRIENDLY ADVICE.

The opinion and advice of friends I receive, at all times, as a proof of their friendship, and am thankful when they are offered.

NATURE OF TRUE FRIENDSHIP.

True friendship is a plant of slow growth, and must undergo and withstand the shocks of adversity, before it is entitled to the appellation.

ACTIONS, NOT WORDS.

A slender acquaintance with the world, must convince every man, that actions, not words, are the true criterion of the attachment of friends; and that the most liberal professions of good-will are very far from being the surest marks of it. I should be happy, if my own experience had afforded fewer examples of the little dependence to be placed upon them.

PROFESSIONS OF FRIENDSHIP.

The arts of dissimulation I despise; and my feelings will not permit me to make professions of friendship, to the man I deem my enemy, and whose system of conduct forbids it.

LETTERS OF FRIENDSHIP.

It is not the letters of my friends, which give me trouble, or add aught to my perplexity.

—

To correspond with those I love, is among my highest gratifications.

—

Letters of friendship require no study: the com-

munications they contain, flow with ease; and allowances are expected and made.

HOSPITALITY OF FRIENDSHIP.

If the assurances of the sincerest esteem and affection, if the varieties of uncultivated nature, the novelty of exchanging the gay and delightful scenes of Paris, with which you * are surrounded, for the rural amusements of a country in its infancy, if the warbling notes of the feathered songsters of our lawns and meads, can, for a moment, make you forget the melody of the opera, and the pleasures of the court, these all invite you to give us this honor, and the opportunity of expressing to you, personally, those sentiments of attachment and love, with which you have inspired us.

1786.

I repeat to you † the assurances of my friendship, and of the pleasure I should feel in seeing you in the shade of those trees which my hands have planted; and which, by their rapid growth, at once indicate a knowledge of my declining years, and their disposition to spread their mantles over me before I go hence to return no more. For this, their gratitude, I will nurture them while I stay. 1784.

* The Marchioness de Lafayette.

† The Chevalier de Chastellux.

FRIENDSHIP IN ADVERSITY.

My friendship, so far from being diminished, has increased in the ratio of his * misfortunes. 1796.

RENEWAL OF FRIENDSHIP'S COVENANT.

The friendship I have conceived, will not be impaired by absence; but it may be no unpleasing circumstance to brighten the chain, by a renewal of the covenant.

PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP AND POLITICAL DISAGREEMENT.

The friendship which I ever professed and felt for you,† met with no diminution, from the difference of our political sentiments.

I know the rectitude of my own intentions; and, believing in the sincerity of yours, lamented, though I did not condemn your renunciation of the creed I had adopted.

Nor do I think any person or power ought to do it,

* Lafayette, imprisoned at Olmütz.

† The Rev. Bryan Fairfax, an Episcopalian clergyman, of Alexandria, Virginia. He afterward became the eighth and last Lord Fairfax.

whilst your conduct is not opposed to the general interest of the people, and the measures they are pursuing.

Our *actions*, depending upon ourselves, may be controlled, while the powers of *thinking*, originating in higher causes, cannot always be moulded to our wishes.

1778.

II. BENEVOLENCE.

Amid all the tumult of the camp, and all the excesses inseparable from civil war, humanity took refuge under his tent, and never was repelled from it. In triumphs and in adversity, he was ever tranquil as wisdom, and simple as virtue. The gentle affections abode in the depths of his heart, even in those moments when the claims of his own cause seemed to sanction in a manner the laws of vengeance.

M. FONTANES.

There was a gravity and reserve, indeed, in his countenance and deportment, partly natural, and partly the effect of habitual cares for the public weal; but these were wholly unmixed with the least austerity or moroseness.

True native dignity was happily blended with the most placid mildness and condescension. J. M. SEWALL, *Portsmouth, N. H. Dec.* 31, 1799.

SOCIAL COURTESY.

Be courteous to all, but intimate with few; and let those few be well tried, before you give them your confidence.

Every action in company, ought to be with some sign of respect to those present.

COMPANY.

The company in which you will improve most, will be least expensive to you.

SHAKING OFF ACQUAINTANCES.

It is easy to make acquaintances, but difficult to shake them off, however irksome and unprofitable they are found, after we have once committed ourselves to them.

CHOICE OF COMPANY.

Associate with men of good quality, if you esteem your own reputation ; for it is better to be alone, than in bad company.

DIFFIDENCE.

Submit your sentiments with diffidence. A dictatorial style, though it may carry conviction, is always accompanied with disgust.

THE GOLDEN RULE.

It is a maxim with me, not to ask what, under similar circumstances, I would not grant.

DEVOTION TO THE PEOPLE.

There is nothing I have more at heart, than to discharge the great duties incumbent on me, with the strictest attention to the ease and convenience of the people.

NATIONAL, DISTINGUISHED FROM PERSONAL, HOSTILITY.

I was opposed to the policy of Great Britain, and became an enemy of her measures; but I always distinguished between *a cause* and *individuals*. And while the latter supported their opinions, upon liberal and generous grounds, *personally* I never could be an enemy to them.

DIFFERENCE OF OPINION, NO CRIME.

Men's *minds* are as variant as their *faces*.

Where the motives of their actions are pure, the operation of the former is no more to be imputed to them as a crime, than the appearance of the latter; for both, being the work of nature, are alike unavoidable.

A difference of opinion on political points, is not to be imputed to freemen, as a fault. It is to be presumed, that they are all actuated by an equally laudable and sacred regard for the liberties of their country.

If the mind is so formed, in different persons, as to consider the same object to be somewhat different in its nature and consequences, as it happens to be placed in different points of view ; and if the oldest, the ablest, and the most virtuous statesmen, have often differed in judgment, as to the best forms of government, we ought, indeed, rather to rejoice, that so much has been effected, than to regret, that more could not all at once be accomplished.

AMITY AND CONCESSION.

It is a fact declared by the General Convention, and universally understood, that the Constitution of the United States was the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession.

And it is well known, that, under this influence, the smaller States were admitted to an equal representation in the Senate, with the larger States, and that this branch of the Government was invested with great powers ; for, on the equal participation of those powers the sovereignty and political safety of the smaller States were deemed essentially to depend.

1796.

DUTIES OF THE MINORITY.

To be disgusted at the decision of questions, because not consonant to our own ideas, and to withdraw

ourselves from public assemblies, or to neglect our attendance at them, upon suspicion that there is a party formed, who are inimical to our cause and to the true interests of the country, is wrong ; because these things may originate in a difference of opinion. But supposing the fact otherwise, and that our suspicions are well founded, it is the indispensable duty of every patriot, to counteract them by the most steady and uniform opposition. 1781.

HUMANITY.

Let your heart feel for the afflictions and distresses of every one.

—

Let your hand give in proportion to your purse ; remembering always, the estimation of the widow's mites, but, that it is not every one who asketh, that deserveth, charity. All, however, are worthy of inquiry ; or the deserving may suffer.

COMPASSION FOR MAN AND BEAST.

The soldiers have two or three times been, days together, without provisions ; and once, six days without any thing of the meat kind.

Could the *poor horses** tell their tale, it would be

* Wrangham, in his edition of Plutarch's Lives, takes occasion, in the biography of Cato the Censor, famous for his *humanity to inferior*

in a strain still more lamentable, as numbers have actually died from pure want. 1778.

SUFFERERS IN THE INDIAN WARS.

The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease. 1756.

WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND THE INFIRM.

When I consider, that the city of New York will, in all human probability, very soon be the scene of a bloody conflict, I cannot but view the great numbers of women, children, and infirm persons, remaining in it, with the most melancholy concern.

It would relieve me from great anxiety, if your honorable body* would immediately deliberate upon it, and form and execute some plan, for their removal

creatures, to say in a note, "Yet Washington, the Tertius Cato of these latter times, is said to have *sold his old charger*." So far is this from the truth, that the old war-horse was put under the special care of an old servant, was never ridden after the war, and died at Mount Vernon, long before the death of Washington.

* The New York Convention.

and relief; in which I will co-operate and assist, to the utmost of my power. 1776.

THE SICK.

The case of our sick is worthy of much consideration. Their number, by the returns, forms at least one fourth of the army. Policy and humanity require, that they should be made as comfortable as possible. 1776.

KINDNESS TO PRISONERS OF WAR.

I have shown all the respect I could to them* here, and have given them some necessary clothing, by which I have disfurnished myself; for, having brought no more than two or three shirts from Will's Creek, that we might be light, I was ill provided to supply them. 1754.

If Lord Chatham's son should be in Canada, and in any way should fall into your† power, you are enjoined to treat him with all possible deference and respect. *You cannot err in paying too much honor to the son of so illustrious a character, and so true a friend to America.*

Any other prisoners who may fall into your hands,

* Prisoners taken, near the Great Meadows, May, 1754.

† Col. Arnold, about to march against Quebec, 1775.

you may treat with as much humanity and kindness, as may be consistent with your own safety and the public interest.

—

Be very particular in restraining, not only your own troops, but the Indians, from all acts of cruelty and insult, which will disgrace the American arms, and irritate our fellow-subjects against us.

THE CASE OF MAJOR ANDRE.

André has met his fate ; and with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man and gallant officer.

—

The circumstances under which he was taken, justified it, and policy required a sacrifice. But, as he was more unfortunate than criminal, and, as there was much in his character to interest, while we *yielded to the necessity of rigor*, we could not but lament it. 1780.

RETALIATION AND HUMANITY.

I know not what to say, on the subject of *Retaliation.* Congress have it under consideration ; and we must await their determination. 1781.

—

Of this I am convinced, that, of all laws, it is the

most difficult to execute, where you have not the transgressor himself in your possession.

Humanity will ever interfere, and plead strongly against the sacrifice of an innocent person for the guilt of another.

THE CASE OF CAPTAIN ASGILL.

The enemy, persisting in that barbarous line of conduct which they have pursued during the course of this war, have lately most inhumanly executed Captain Joshua Huddy, of the Jersey State troops, taken prisoner by them at a post on Tom's river. In consequence, I have written to the British Commander-in-chief, that, unless the perpetrators of that horrid deed were delivered up, I should be under the disagreeable necessity of *retaliating*, as the *only means left* to put a stop to such inhuman proceedings.

You * will, therefore, immediately, on receipt of this, designate by lot, for the purpose, a British captain, who is an unconditional prisoner, if such a one is in your possession.

I need not mention to you, that *every possible tenderness* that is consistent with the security of him, should be shown to the person whose unfortunate lot it may be to suffer. 1782.

* Brigadier-General Hazen.

NECESSITY OF THE CASE.

Sincerely lamenting the *cruel necessity*, which alone can induce so distressing a measure in the present instance, I do assure your Excellency,* that I am as earnestly desirous as you can be, that the war may be carried on agreeably to the rules which Humanity formed, and the example of the politest nations recommends.

Keenly wounded as my feelings will be, at the deplorable destiny of the unhappy victim, no gleam of hope can arise to him, but from the conduct of the enemy themselves. This he may be permitted to communicate to the British Commander-in-chief, in whose power alone it rests to avert the impending vengeance from the innocent, by executing it on the guilty.

THE CASE COMPASSIONATED.

While my duty calls me to make this decisive determination, humanity prompts a tear for the unfortunate offering, and inclines me to say, that I most devoutly wish his life may be spared. In the mean time, I must beg that you† will be pleased to treat Captain Asgill with every tender attention and politeness, (con-

* General Robertson, the British Commander-in-chief.

† Colonel Elias Dayton.

sistent with his present situation,) which his rank, fortune, and connections, together with his unfortunate state demand.

APPROVAL OF THE PROCEDURE.

I feel myself exceedingly distressed on this occasion ; but my resolutions having been taken on the most mature deliberation, supported by *the approbation of Congress*, and grounded on *the general concurrence of all the principal officers of the army*, who were particularly consulted, they cannot be receded from.

Justice to the army and the public, my own honor, and, I think I may venture to say, UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE, require them to be carried into full execution. It rests, therefore, with the British Commander-in-chief, to prevent this unhappy measure from taking effect.

CAPTAIN ASGILL RELEASED BY CONGRESS.

The letter of Asgill, and the situation of his father, which I am made acquainted with by the British prints, work too powerfully upon my humanity, not to wish that Congress would chalk a line for me to walk by, in this business.

It affords me singular pleasure, to have it in my power to transmit to you * the inclosed copy of an Act

* Captain Asgill.

of Congress, of the 7th instant,* by which you are released from the disagreeable circumstances in which you have so long been.† Supposing, that you would wish to go into New York as soon as possible, I also inclose a passport for that purpose.

—

I cannot take leave of you, sir, without assuring you, that, in whatever light my agency in this unpleasant affair may be viewed, I was never influenced, through the whole of it, by *sanguinary motives*, but by what I conceived to be *a sense of duty*, which loudly called upon me to take measures, however disagreeable, *to prevent a repetition of those enormities* which have been the subject of discussion. And that this important end is likely to be answered, without the effusion of the blood of an innocent person, is not a greater relief to you, than to me. 1782.

PARDON OF CRIMINALS.

As you ‡ were pleased to leave it to my discretion, to punish or pardon the criminals, I have resolved on

* November, 1782.

† Captain Lippincot, charged with the murder of Captain Huddy, was, by a wicked connivance, acquitted by a British court-martial. But such representations were made, and such satisfactory assurances were given, to Congress, that it was deemed proper to release Captain Asgill.

‡ Governor Dinwiddie.

the latter, since I find example of so little weight, and since those poor unhappy criminals have undergone no small pain of body and mind, in a dark prison, closely ironed. 1757.

EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES.

The scheme which you * propose, as a precedent to encourage the emancipation of the black people in this country, from the state of bondage in which they are held, is a striking evidence of the benevolence of your heart.

I shall be happy to join you, in so laudable a work. 1783.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

There is not a man living, who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted, for the abolition of it. But there is *only one proper and effectual mode* by which it can be accomplished, and that is, by *legislative authority.*

This, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting. But when slaves, who are happy and contented with their present masters, are tampered with and seduced to leave them; when masters are taken unawares by these practices; when a conduct of this kind begets discontent on one side, and resentment on the

* Lafayette.

other ; and when it happens to fall on a man whose purse will not measure with that of the Society, and he loses his property for want of means to defend it ; it is oppression in such a case, and not humanity in any, because it introduces more evils than it can cure.

1786.

LAFAYETTE'S ABOLITION SCHEME.

Your * purchase of an estate in the colony of Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity.

Would to God, a like spirit might diffuse itself generally, into the minds of the people of this country. But I despair of seeing it.

—

Some petitions were presented to the Assembly, at its last session, for the abolition of slavery, but they could scarcely obtain a reading.

—

To set the slaves afloat, at once, would, I believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief ; but, by degrees, it certainly might, and assuredly ought to be effected ; and that, too, by *legislative authority.*

* Lafayette.

MODE OF ABOLISHING SLAVERY.

I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes, to see some plan adopted, by which Slavery, in this country, may be *abolished by law.* 1786.

PROPOSED LIBERATION OF SLAVES.

I have no scruple in disclosing to you * that my motives to these sales are to reduce my income, be it more or less, to specialities,—that the remainder of my days may thereby be more tranquil, and free from care ; and that I may be enabled, knowing what my dependence is, to do as much good as my resources will admit. Although, in the estimation of the world, I possess a good and clear estate, yet so unproductive is it, that I am oftentimes ashamed to refuse aid which I cannot afford, unless I sell part of it to answer this purpose.

Besides these, I have another motive, which makes me earnestly wish for these things. It is, indeed, more powerful than all the rest ; namely, *to liberate a certain species of property*, which I *possess very reluctantly to my own feelings*, but which imperious neces-

* Tobias Lear, his private secretary, then in England, May 6th, 1794, making arrangements to sell some of Washington's landed estate.

sity compels, until I can substitute some other expedient, by which expenses not in my power to avoid, (however well disposed I may be to do it,) can be defrayed. 1794.

SLAVES LIBERATED. *

Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slaves whom I hold *in my own right*, shall receive their freedom.

To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriage with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences to the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them.

PROVISION FOR AGED, INFIRM, AND INFANT SLAVES.

And whereas among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some, who, from old age or bodily infirmities, and others, who, on ac-

* By Washington's Will, dated July 9th, 1799.

count of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all, who come under the first and second description, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or, if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the Court, until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and, in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the Court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final.

NEGROES, TO BE TAUGHT TO READ AND WRITE.

The negroes thus bound, are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and other poor children.

LIBERATED NEGROES, NOT TO BE SOLD.

I expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said Commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever.

PERMANENT FUND FOR AGED AND INFIRM NEGROES.

I do, moreover, most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled, at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm ; seeing that a *regular and permanent fund* be established for their support, as long as there are subjects requiring it ; not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by individuals.

WILLIAM LEE'S IMMEDIATE FREEDOM.

To my mulatto man, *William*, calling himself *William Lee*, I give immediate freedom, or, if he should prefer it, (on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking, or of any active employment,) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so ; in either case, however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars, during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and clothes he has been accustomed to receive, if he chooses the last alternative ; but in full with his freedom, if he prefers the first. And this I give him, as a testimony

of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the Revolutionary War.

FREEDOM OF THE DANDRIDGE SLAVES.

The negroes, thirty-three in number, which have remained in the possession of Mary, widow of Bartholomew Dandridge, with their increase, it is my will and desire shall continue and be in her possession, without paying hire, or making compensation for the same, for the time past or to come, during her natural life ; at the expiration of which, I direct that all of them who are forty years old and upwards, shall receive their freedom.

All under that age, and above sixteen, shall serve seven years and no longer.

All under sixteen years shall serve until they are twenty-five years of age, and then be free.

To avoid disputes respecting the ages of any of these negroes, they are to be taken into the court of the county in which they reside, and the judgment thereof, in this relation, shall be final, and record thereof made, which may be adduced as evidence at any time thereafter, if disputes should arise concerning the same. 1799.

PUNCTILIOS OF HONOR.

Trifling punctilios should have no influence upon a man's conduct, in such a case and at such a time as this. 1777.

If smaller matters do not yield to greater ; if trifles light as air, in comparison with what we are contending for, can withdraw or withhold gentlemen from service, when our all is at stake, and a single cast of a die may turn the tables ; what are we to expect ? It is not a common contest we are engaged in. Every thing valuable to us depends upon the success of it ; and the success, upon a steady and vigorous exertion. 1777.

DUELLING CONDEMNED.

The generous spirit of chivalry, exploded by the rest of the world, finds a refuge, my dear friend,* in the sensibility of your nation only. But it is in vain to cherish it, unless you can find antagonists to support it ; and, however well adapted it might have been to the times in which it existed, in our days, it is to be feared, that your opponent, sheltering himself behind modern opinions, and under his present public character of Commissioner, would turn a virtue of such ancient date into ridicule.

* Lafayette, about to challenge Lord Carlisle, for speaking offensively of France.

Besides, supposing his Lordship accepted your terms, experience has proved, that chance is often as much concerned, in deciding these matters, as bravery; and always more than the justice of the cause.

I would not, therefore, have your life, by the remotest possibility, exposed, when it may be reserved for so many greater occasions.

His Excellency, the Admiral,* I flatter myself, will be in sentiment with me; and, as soon as he can spare you, will send you to head-quarters, where I anticipate the pleasure of seeing you. 1778.

—

The coincidence between your Excellency's * sentiments, respecting the Marquis de Lafayette's challenge, communicated in the letter with which you honored me on the 20th,† and those which I expressed to him, on the same subject, is peculiarly flattering to me.

I am happy to find, that my disapprobation of this measure was founded on the same arguments, which, in your Excellency's hands, acquire new force and persuasion. 1778.

—

I omitted neither serious reasoning nor pleasantry, to divert him from a scheme in which he could be so easily foiled, without having any credit given to him, by his antagonist, for his generosity and sensibility. He intimated, that your Excellency did not discoun-

* Count D'Estaing. † October, 1778.

tenance it, and that he had pledged himself, to the principal officers of the French squadron, to carry it into execution.

—

The charms of vindicating the honor of his country were irresistible. But, besides, he had, in a manner, committed himself, and could not decently retract. I continued to lay my friendly commands upon him, to renounce his project ; but I was well assured, that, if he determined to persevere in it, neither authority nor vigilance would be of any avail, to prevent his message to Lord Carlisle.

—

Though his ardor overreached my advice and influence, I console myself with the reflection, that his Lordship will *not accept* * the challenge ; and that, while our friend gains all the applause which is due to him, for wishing to become the champion of his country, he will be secure from the possibility of such dangers as my fears would otherwise create for him, by those powerful barriers which shelter his Lordship, and which, I am persuaded, he will not, in the present instance, violate. 1778.

PLEASURES OF BENEVOLENCE.

The reflections which arise on justice and benevolence, will be lastingly grateful.

* This proved to be the case.

NATIONAL GOOD WILL TO MAN.

Harmony and good will towards men, must be the basis of every political establishment.

FELLOWSHIP OF THE FREE.

The cause of virtue and liberty is confined to no continent or climate. It comprehends, within its capacious limits, the wise and good, however dispersed and separated in space and distance.

COMPREHENSIVE BENEVOLENCE.

We do not wish to be the only people, who may taste the sweets of an equal and good government. We look, with an anxious eye, to the time, when happiness and tranquillity shall prevail, and when all Europe shall be freed from commotions, tumults, and alarms. 1791.

III. PATRIOTISM.

Perhaps there never was another man, whose personal character and conduct exercised an influence, so powerful and so beneficial, on the destiny of a great nation.
JAMES GRAHAME.

Can tyrants but by tyrants conquered be,
And freedom find no champion and no child,
Such as Columbia saw arise, when she
Sprung forth a Pallas, arm'd and undefil'd?
Or must such minds be nourish'd in the wild,
Deep in the unpruned forest, 'midst the roar
Of cataracts, where nursing nature smiled
On infant WASHINGTON? Has earth no more
Such seeds within her breast, or Europe no such shore?
LORD BYRON.

He changed mankind's ideas of political greatness. FISHER AMES.

THE PATRIOT CHIEF.

As the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty,* and exert every power I possess, in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. 1775.

* Commander-in-chief.

THE COUNTRY'S CALL.

I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love.

—

I have obeyed a summons, to which I can never be insensible.

—

When my country demands the sacrifice, personal ease must always be a secondary consideration.

THE PATRIOT'S VOW.

The love of my country will be the ruling influence of my conduct. 1789.

THE RULER'S GLORY AND THE PEOPLE'S HAPPINESS.

It is a wonder to me, that there should be found a single monarch, who does not realize, that his own glory and felicity must depend on the prosperity and happiness of his people.

How easy is it for a sovereign, to do that, which shall not only immortalize his name, but attract the blessings of millions!

THE AMERICAN PATRIOT.

When the councils of the British nation had formed a plan for enslaving America, and depriving her sons of their most sacred and invaluable privileges, against the clearest remonstrances of the Constitution, of justice, and of truth, and, to execute their schemes, had appealed to the sword, I esteemed it my duty to take a part in the contest, and more especially on account of my being called thereto by the unsolicited suffrages of the representatives of a free people; wishing for no other reward, than that arising from a conscientious discharge of the important trust, and that my services might contribute to the establishment of freedom and peace, upon a permanent foundation, and merit the applause of my countrymen, and every virtuous citizen.

SPIRIT OF FREEDOM.

With respect to myself, I have never entertained an idea of an accommodation, since I heard of the measures which were adopted in consequence of the Bunker's Hill fight.

The King's speech has confirmed the sentiments I entertained upon the news of that affair; and if every man was of my mind, the ministers of Great Britain should know in a few words, upon what issue the cause should be put. I would not be deceived by

artful declarations or specious pretences ; nor would I be amused by unmeaning propositions ; but in open, undisguised, and manly terms, proclaim our wrongs and our resolutions to be redressed.

I would tell them, that we had borne much ; that we had long and ardently sought for reconciliation upon honorable terms ; that it had been denied us ; that all our attempts after peace had proved abortive, and had been grossly misrepresented ; that we had done every thing that could be expected from the best of subjects ; that the spirit of freedom beat too high in us to submit to slavery ; and that, if nothing else would satisfy a Tyrant and his diabolical ministry, we were determined to shake off all connections with a State so unjust and unnatural.

This I would tell them, not under covert, but in words as clear as the sun in his meridian brightness.

1776.

If we do our duty, we may even hope to make the campaign decisive *on this Continent.* But we must do our duty in earnest, or disgrace and ruin will attend us. 1780.

TRUST IN GOD.

I shall rely, confidently, on that Providence which has hitherto preserved and been bountiful to me.

As it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown

me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose.

1775.

PUBLIC SPIRIT.

In exchanging the enjoyments of domestic life for the duties of my present honorable and arduous station,* I only emulate the virtue and public spirit of the whole province of Massachusetts Bay, which, with a firmness and patriotism without example in modern history, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life, in support of the rights of mankind, and the welfare of our common country.

My highest ambition is, to be the happy instrument of vindicating those rights, and to see this devoted province again restored to peace, liberty, and safety. 1775.

I believe, that man was not designed by the All-wise Creator, to live for himself alone.

OBEDIENCE TO CONGRESS.

While I have the honor to remain in the service of the United States, I shall obey, to the utmost of

* Commander-in-chief.

my power and to the best of my abilities, all orders of Congress, with a scrupulous exactness.

Connecticut wants no Massachusetts man in her corps. Massachusetts thinks there is no necessity for a Rhode-Islander to be introduced amongst them; and New Hampshire says, it is very hard that her valuable and experienced officers, (who are willing to serve,) should be discarded, because her own regiments under the new establishment cannot provide for them. 1775.

It is a maxim with me, that, in times of imminent danger to the country, every true patriot should occupy the post in which he can render his services most effectually. 1799.

BRAVERY.

I have a constitution hardy enough to encounter and undergo the most severe trials; and, I flatter myself, resolution to face what any man dares, as shall be proved when it comes to the test. 1754.

HONOR.

The *rank* of office, to me, is much more important than the *pay*.

You * make mention of my continuing in the service, and retaining my Colonel's commission. This idea has filled me with surprise ; for, if you think me capable of holding a commission that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must entertain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me to be more empty than the commission itself. 1754.

THE PATRIOT'S OFFERING.

It is my full intention, to devote my life and fortune, in the cause we are engaged in, if needful. 1775.

The principles by which my conduct has been actuated through life, would not suffer me, in any great emergency, to withhold *any services I could render*, required by my country ; especially in a case, where its dearest rights are assailed by lawless ambition and intoxicated power, contrary to every principle of justice, and in violation of solemn compacts and laws, which govern all civilized nations ; and this, too, with the obvious intent to sow thick the seeds of disunion, for the purpose of subjugating the government, and destroying our independence and happiness. 1798.

* Colonel William Fitzhugh asked him to become a *Captain* of the Virginia Independent Company, but to *retain his Colonelcy.*

CONSCIOUS RECTITUDE.

The consciousness of having attempted faithfully to discharge my duty, and the approbation of my country, will be a sufficient recompense for my services. 1783.

—

Conscious, that it is the aim of my actions to promote the public good, and that no part of my conduct is influenced by personal enmity to individuals, I cannot be insensible to the artifices, employed by some men, to prejudice me in the public esteem. 1779.

SACRIFICES TO PRINCIPLE.

I believe, or at least I hope, that there is public virtue enough left among us, to deny ourselves every thing but the bare necessaries of life, to accomplish our end.

—

To share the common lot, and participate the inconveniences which the army, from the peculiarity of our circumstances, are obliged to undergo, has, with me, been a fundamental principle. 1789.

ENDURANCE.

We should never despair. Our situation has before been unpromising, and has changed for the better; so,

I trust, it will again. If new difficulties arise, we must only put forth new exertions, and proportion our efforts to the exigency of the times. 1777.

The value of liberty was enhanced in our estimation, by the difficulty of its attainment ; and the worth of characters appreciated, by the trial of adversity. 1790.

THE SACRIFICES AND REWARDS OF PATRIOTISM.

It is but justice, to assign great merit to the temper of those citizens whose estates were more immediately the scene of warfare. Their personal services were rendered, without constraint ; and the derangement of their affairs submitted to, without dissatisfaction. It was the triumph of patriotism over personal considerations. And our present enjoyments of peace and freedom reward the sacrifice. 1789.

THE PATRIOT'S TWO-FOLD DEPENDENCE.

I have ever thought, and am still of opinion, that no terms of accommodation will be offered by the British ministry, but such as cannot be accepted by America. We have nothing to depend upon, but *the protection of a kind Providence*, and *unanimity among ourselves.*

SELF-CONTROL.

It is our duty, to make the best of our misfortunes, and not suffer passion to interfere with our interest and the public good.

UNYIELDING PURPOSE.

We will retreat * beyond the Susquehanna river, and thence, if necessary, to the Alleghany mountains.

1777.

THE PATRIOT'S GREAT OBJECT.

The welfare of the country, is the great object to which our cares and efforts ought to be directed.

I shall derive great satisfaction from a co-operation in the pleasing, though arduous task, of insuring to our fellow-citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient, and equal government.

TALENTS, RECTITUDE, PATRIOTISM.

In these honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that, as, on one side, no local prejudices

* He had been asked what could be done, if the enemy continued to advance.

or attachments, no separate views, no party animosities will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests ; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid, in *the pure and immutable principles of private morality*, and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified, by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

1789.

PATRIOTISM, FIRMNESS, WISDOM.

To secure the blessings which a gracious Providence has placed within our reach, will call for the cool and deliberate exertion of patriotism, firmness, and wisdom. 1790.

—

Our conflict is not likely to cease, so soon as every good man would wish. The measure of iniquity is not yet filled ; and, unless we can return a little more to first principles, and act a little more upon patriotic grounds, I do not know when it will be, or what may be the issue of our contest.

—

I find, you * are only empowered to *grant pardons*. We have committed no offence ; we need no pardon. 1776.

* Colonel Patterson, deputed by Lord Howe, to settle all differences with the revolutionists.

PRUDENCE, TEMPER, MODERATION.

Nothing but DISUNION can hurt our cause. This will ruin it, if great prudence, temper, and moderation are not mixed in our counsels, and made the governing principles of the contending parties.

THE PATRIOT'S HAPPINESS.

To stand well in the good opinion of my countrymen, constitutes my chief happiness, and will be my best support under the perplexities and difficulties of my present station. 1778.

To be in any degree instrumental, in procuring to my American brethren a restitution of their just rights and privileges, will constitute my chief happiness. 1776.

THE PATRIOT'S REWARD.

Whatever services I have rendered to my country, in its general approbation I have received an ample reward. 1797.

POPULAR SPIRIT.

It is a happy circumstance, that such an animation prevails among the people. I would wish to let

it operate and draw as many as possible together, which will be a great discouragement to the enemy, by showing that the popular spirit is at such a height; and at the same time it will inspire the people themselves with confidence in their own strength, by discovering to every individual the zeal and spirit of his neighbors. But after they have been collected a few days, I would have the greater part of them dismissed, as not being immediately wanted, desiring them to hold themselves in readiness for any sudden call, and concerting signals with them, at the appearance of which they are to fly to arms. 1779.

NATIONALITY.

No expression of personal politeness to me, can be acceptable, accompanied by reflections * on the representatives of a free people, under whose authority I have the honor to act.

The delicacy I have observed, in refraining from every thing offensive in this way, entitled me to expect a similar treatment from you. I have not indulged myself in invectives against the present rulers of Great Britain, in the course of our correspondence; nor will I, even now, avail myself of so fruitful a theme. 1778.

* Alluding to severe strictures, made by Sir William Howe, in a polite letter.

THE PATRIOT, REFUSING A CROWN.

With a mixture of surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments you * have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, no occurrence, in the course of the war, has given me more painful sensations, than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army, as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence, and reprehend with severity.

For the present, the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary.

I am much at a loss, to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address, which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person, to whom your schemes are more disagreeable.

At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add, that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the army, than I do; and, as far as my powers and influence, in a Constitutional way, extend, they shall be employed, to the utmost of my abilities, to effect it, should there be any occasion.

* Col. Lewis Nicola, who had suggested the thought of the Army's purpose to make the Commander-in-chief a King.

Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature. 1782.

FEMALE PATRIOTISM.

I very much admire the patriotic spirit of the ladies of Philadelphia, and shall, with great pleasure, give them my advice, as to the application of their benevolent and generous donation * to the soldiers of the army. 1780.

—

I cannot forbear taking the earliest moment, to express the high sense I entertain, of the patriotic exertions of the ladies of Maryland in favor of the army. 1780.

—

Amidst all the distress and sufferings of the army, from whatever sources they have arisen, it must be a consolation to our virtuous countrywomen, that they have never been accused of withholding their most zealous efforts, to support the cause we are engaged in, and encourage those who are defending them in the field.

* A hundred thousand pounds, to be laid out according to Washington's directions.

The army do not want gratitude, nor do they misplace it in this instance.

It embellishes the American character with a new trait, by proving, that the love of country is blended with those softer domestic virtues, which have always been allowed to be more peculiarly your own.

You have not acquired admiration, in your own country only; it is paid to you abroad, and, you will learn with pleasure, by a part of your own sex, whose female accomplishments have attained their highest perfection, and who, from the commencement, have been the patronesses of American liberty. 1781.

ON HIS ACCEPTING THE PRESIDENCY.

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was transmitted by your * order, and received on the fourteenth day of the present month.

On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years;—a retreat, which was rendered, every day,

* Congress.

more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time.

On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust, to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken, in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies.

In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study, to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if, in accepting this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof, of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity, as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality with which they originated. 1789.

I am sensible, that I am embarking, with the voice of the people, and a good name of my own, on

this voyage. What returns may be made for them, Heaven alone can foretell. Integrity and firmness are all I can promise. These, be the voyage long or short, shall never forsake me, though I may be deserted by all men; for, of the consolation to be derived from these the world cannot deprive me. 1789.

The delay [in the assembling of Congress] may be compared to a reprieve. In confidence I tell you,* (with the *world* it would obtain little credit,) that my movements to the Chair of Government, will be accompanied by feelings, not unlike those of a culprit, who is going to the place of his execution. So unwilling am I, in the evening of a life nearly consumed in public cares, to quit a peaceful abode, for an ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities, and inclination, which are necessary to manage the helm. 1789.

HIS PROGRESS TO THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

The display of boats, which attended and joined on this occasion,† some with vocal, and others with instrumental, music on board; the decorations of the ships, the roar of cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people, which rent the sky as I passed along the wharves, filled my mind with sensations as painful,

* General Knox.

† His journey from Mount Vernon to New York.

(contemplating the reverse of this scene, which may be the case, after all our labors to do good,) as they were pleasing. 1789.

I require no guard * but the affections of the people. 1789.

HIS REFUSAL OF PECUNIARY COMPENSATION.

When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty, required, that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation.

From this resolution I have in no instance departed ; and being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in the permanent provision for the Executive department ; and must accordingly pray, that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures, as the public good may be thought to require. 1789.

When I was first called to the station, with which I was honored during the late conflict for our liberties, to the diffidence which I had so many reasons to feel

* He declined having a military escort, on his way to Congress.

in accepting it, I thought it my duty, to join a firm resolution to shut my hand against every pecuniary recompense.

To this resolution I have invariably adhered ; and from it, if I had the inclination, I do not feel at liberty now to depart. 1795.

ON RETIRING FROM OFFICE.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable, that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty, to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend.

I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness, in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors, for several generations ; I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fel-

low-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers. 1796.

When, in the decline of life, I gratify the fond wish of my heart in retiring from public labors, and find the language of approbation and fervent prayers for future happiness following that event, my heart expands with gratitude, and my feelings become unutterable.

1797.

GRATITUDE TO THE COUNTRY.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me ; still more, for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed, of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal.

If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead ; amidst appear-

ances, sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected.

Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing wishes ; that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence, that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual, that the free constitution which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained, that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue, that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory, of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

1796.

HIS FAREWELL TO THE ARMY.

Being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honor to command, he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to

their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of Armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favors, both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings to others.

With these wishes, and his benediction, the Commander-in-chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed for ever. 1783.

FAREWELL TO CONGRESS, AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States, of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence ; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

I consider it an indispensable duty, to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to His holy keeping. 1783.

ON HIS RETURN TO MOUNT VERNON, AFTER THE WAR.

The scene is at last closed . . . On the eve of Christmas, I entered these doors, an older man by nine years than when I left them. . . I am just beginning to experience that ease and freedom from public cares, which, however desirable, takes some time to realize.

It was not till lately, I could get the better of my usual custom of ruminating, as soon as I waked in the morning, on the business of the ensuing day ; and of my surprise at finding, after revolving many things in my mind, that I was no longer a public man, nor had any thing to do with public transactions. 1783.

CONSECRATION OF THE PATRIOT'S WEAPONS.

To each of my nephews, William Augustine Washington, George Lewis, George Steptoe Washington, Bushrod Washington, and Samuel Washington, I give one of the swords, or couteaux, of which I may die possessed ; and they are to choose in the order they are named.

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These swords are accompanied with an injunction, not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights ; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

IV. DOMESTIC LIFE.

To his equals he was condescending, to his inferiors kind, and to the dear object of his affections exemplarily tender. *General* HENRY LEE, *Dec.* 26, 1799.

Favored of heaven, he was blest in the most endearing relation of human society. The amiable and much respected partner of his happiness, enjoyed his affection and esteem, and was worthy to participate the honors of his exalted station.
Major WILLIAM JACKSON, *Aid-de-camp to Washington.*

He deserved and enjoyed both success and repose. Of all great men, he was the most virtuous and most fortunate. In this world, God has no higher favor to bestow. M. GUIZOT.

AT MOUNT VERNON, JUST AFTER HIS MARRIAGE.

I am now, I believe, fixed at this seat, with an agreeable partner * for life ; and I hope to find more happiness in retirement, than I ever experienced amidst the wide and bustling world. 1759.

* He married, on the 6th of January, 1759, Mrs. Martha Custis, widow of Colonel Daniel Parke Custis. Her maiden name was Dandridge. At the time of her marriage to Washington, she had a son and a daughter, both under seven years of age.

HOME.

I can truly say, I had rather be at Mount Vernon, with a friend or two about me, than to be attended, at the Seat of Government, by the Officers of State, and the Representatives of every Power in Europe.

1790.

CONJUGAL AFFECTION.

You may believe me, my dear Patsy, when I assure you, in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment,* I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity ; and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home, than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. *June*, 1775.

—

I shall rely, confidently, on that Providence, which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting but that I shall return safe to you in the fall. I shall feel no pain, from the toil or the danger of the campaign. My unhappiness will flow from the uneasiness I know you will feel from being left alone. 1775.

* Commander-in-chief.

I shall hope, that my friends will visit, and endeavor to keep up the spirits of my wife, as much as they can ; for my departure will, I know, be a cutting stroke upon her.

PROVISION FOR HIS WIFE, IN CASE OF HIS DEATH.

As life is always uncertain, and common prudence dictates to every man the necessity of settling his temporal concerns, whilst it is in his power, and whilst the mind is calm and undisturbed, I have, since I came to this place,* (for I had not time to do it before I left home,) got Colonel Pendleton to draft a Will for me by the directions I gave him ; which Will I now inclose.

The provision made for you in case of my death, will, I hope, be agreeable. 1775.

To my dearly beloved † wife, Martha Washington, I give and bequeathe the use, profit, and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter.

* Philadelphia.

† On the night of his death, his attendants discovered on his breast, suspended by a ribbon, the miniature likeness of Mrs. Washington. He had worn it for more than forty years.

ADOPTION OF HIS WIFE'S GRANDCHILDREN.

It has always been my intention, since my expectation of having issue has ceased, to consider the grandchildren of my wife, in the same light as I do my own relations, and to act a friendly part by them, more especially by the two whom we have raised from their earliest infancy.

FILIAL LOVE.

I am, honored * Madam, your most dutiful son.

If it is in my power to avoid going to Ohio again, I shall; but if the command is pressed upon me, by the general voice of the country, and offered upon such terms as cannot be objected against, it would reflect dishonor on me to refuse it; and that, I am sure, must or ought to give you greater uneasiness, than my going in an honorable command. 1755.

ELEGANT SIMPLICITY IN DOMESTIC LIFE.

Mrs. Washington's wishes coincide with my own, as to simplicity of dress, and every thing which can

* His letters to his mother began with the words, "Honored Madam;" and, throughout his life, he beautifully exemplified respectful filial love. His last interview with her was at her home in Fredericksburg, in March, 1789. She died, five months after, August 25th, in the 83d year of her age.

tend to support propriety of character, without partaking of the follies of luxury and ostentation.

HIS PORTRAIT.

In for a penny, in for a pound, is an old adage. I am so hackneyed to the touches of the painter's pencil, that I am *now* altogether at their beck, and sit like Patience on a monument, whilst they are delineating the lines of my face.

It is a proof, among many others, of what habit and custom can effect. At first, I was as impatient at the request, and as restive under the operation, as a colt is of the saddle. The next time, I submitted very reluctantly, but with less flouncing. Now, no dray * moves more readily to the thill, than I do to the painter's chair. 1785.

ANNIVERSARY OF HIS BIRTH-DAY.

The flattering distinction paid to the anniversary of my birth-day, is an honor for which I dare not attempt to express my gratitude.

I confide in your Excellency's † sensibility, to interpret my feelings for this, and for the obliging manner in which you are pleased to announce it.

* Dray-horse. † The Count de Rochambeau.

THE PROPOSED MARRIAGE OF HIS WARD.

His * youth, inexperience, and unripened education are, and will be, insuperable obstacles, in my opinion, to the completion of the marriage. As his guardian, I conceive it my indispensable duty, to endeavor to carry him through a regular course of education, (many branches of which, I am sorry to add, he is totally deficient in,) and to guard his youth to a more advanced age, before an event, on which his own peace and the happiness of another are to depend, takes place.

Not that I have any doubt of the warmth of his affections, nor, I hope I may add, any fears of a change in them. But, at present, I do not conceive that he is capable of bestowing that attention to the important consequences of the married state, which is necessary to be given by those who are about to enter into it, and, of course, I am unwilling he should do it, till he is.

If the affection which they have avowed for each other, is fixed upon a solid basis, it will receive no diminution in the course of two or three years, in which time he may prosecute his studies, and thereby render himself more deserving of the lady, and useful to society.

If, unfortunately, as they are both young, there should be an abatement of affection, on either side,

* The son of Mrs. Washington, John Parke Custis.

or both, it had better precede, than follow, marriage.

To *postpone*, is all I have in view; for I shall recommend to the young gentleman, with the warmth that becomes a man of honor, (notwithstanding he did not vouchsafe to consult either his mother or me, on the occasion,) to consider himself as much engaged to your * daughter, as if the indissoluble knot were tied; and, as the surest means of effecting this, to apply himself closely to his studies, (and in this advice, I flatter myself, you will join me,) by which he will, in a great measure, avoid those flirtations with other young ladies, that may, by dividing the attention, contribute not a little to divide the affection. 1773.

ADVICE ON MATRIMONY.

If she wants advice upon it, a father and mother, who are at hand, and competent to give it, are, at the same time, the most proper to be consulted, on so interesting an event.

For my own part, I never did, nor do I believe I ever shall, give advice, to a woman who is setting out on a matrimonial voyage; first, because I never could advise one to marry, without her own consent; and secondly, because I know it is to no purpose to advise her to refrain, when she has obtained it.

* Benedict Calvert. Mr. Custis married Miss Calvert, February 3d, 1774.

A woman very rarely asks an opinion, or requires advice, on such an occasion, till her resolution is formed; and then it is, with the hope and expectation of obtaining a sanction—not that she means to be governed by your disapprobation—that she applies.

In a word, the plain English of the application may be summed up in these words: "I wish you to think as I do; but, if unhappily you differ from me in opinion, my heart, I must confess, is fixed, and I have gone too far, *now* to retract."

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I will give my opinion of the MEASURE, not of the MAN, with candor, and to the following effect. I never expected you would spend the residue of your days in widowhood. But, in a matter so important, and so interesting to yourself, children, and connections, I wish you would make a prudent choice. To do which, many considerations are necessary; such as, the family and connections of the man, his fortune, (which is not the *most* essential in my eye,) the line of conduct he has observed, and the disposition and frame of his mind. You should consider, what prospect there is of his proving kind and affectionate to you; just, generous, and attentive to your children; and how far his connections will be agreeable to you; for, when they are once formed, agreeable or not, the die being cast, your fate is fixed.

CONNUBIAL LIFE.

In my estimation, more permanent and genuine happiness is to be found, in the sequestered walks of connubial life, than in the giddy rounds of promiscuous pleasure, or the more tumultuous and imposing scenes of successful ambition. 1786.

THE PRIVATE CITIZEN.

The great Searcher of human hearts is my witness, that I have no wish which aspires beyond the humble and happy lot, of living and dying a Private Citizen, on my own farm. 1788.

PEACE AND RETIREMENT.

As peace and retirement are my ultimate aim, and the most pleasing and flattering wish of my soul, every thing advancive of this end contributes to my satisfaction, however difficult and inconvenient in the attainment, and will reconcile any place and all circumstances to my feelings, whilst I remain in service. 1778.

DOMESTIC RETIREMENT.

The great object, for which I had the honor to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being

accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and to return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance ; a retirement, for which I have never ceased to sigh, through a long and painful absence, and in which, (remote from the noise and trouble of the world,) I meditate to pass the remainder of life, in a state of undisturbed repose. 1783.

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The hour of my resignation is fixed, at twelve today ;* after which, I shall become a private citizen on the banks† of the Potomac.

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The scene is at last closed. I feel myself eased of a load of public care. I hope to spend the remainder of my days, in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of the domestic virtues. 1783.

DOMESTIC EASE.

Freed from the clangor of arms, and the bustle of a camp, from the cares of public employment, and the responsibility of office, I am now enjoying domestic ease, under the shadow of my own vine and my own fig-tree. And in a small villa, with the implements of husbandry and lambkins around me, I expect to

* December 23d, 1783, when he resigned his military office.

† At Mount Vernon, his residence.

glide gently down the stream of life, till I am entombed in the mansion of my fathers. 1784.

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A month from this* day, if I should live to see the completion of it, will place me on the wrong (perhaps it would be better to say the *advanced*) side of my grand climacteric; and although I have no cause to complain of the want of health, I can religiously aver, that no man was ever more tired of public life, or more devoutly wished for retirement, than I do.

TRANQUILLITY.

Under the shadow of my own vine and my own fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp, and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments, of which *the Soldier*, who is ever in pursuit of fame, *the Statesman*, whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if the globe was insufficient for us all, and *the Courtier*, who is always watching the countenance of his Prince, in hopes of catching a gracious smile, can have very little conception.

I have not only retired from all public employments, but I am retiring within myself, and shall be able to

* January 22d, 1795. He was in his 63d year.

view the solitary walk, and tread the paths of private life, with a heartfelt satisfaction.

Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all; and this being the order of my march, I will move gently down the stream of life, until I sleep with my fathers. 1784.

THE GOOD CITIZEN.

No wish of my retirement can exceed that of seeing our country happy; and I can entertain no doubt of its being so, if all of us act the part of GOOD CITIZENS, contributing our best endeavors to maintain the constitution, support the laws, and guard our independence against all assaults from whatsoever quarter they may come. Clouds may, and doubtless often will, in the vicissitudes of events, hover over our political concerns; but a steady adherence to these principles will not only dispel them, but render our prospect the brighter by such temporary obscurities. 1797.

AGREEABLE RECOLLECTIONS.

The affection and attachment of my fellow-citizens, through the whole period of my public employments, will be the subject of my most agreeable recollections.

The belief, which the affecting sentiments of the people of Massachusetts, expressed by their Senate and

House of Representatives, with those of my fellow-citizens in general, have inspired, that I have been the happy instrument of much good to my country and to mankind, will be a source of unceasing gratitude to Heaven. 1797.

RURAL EMPLOYMENTS.

My time is now occupied by rural amusements, in which I have great satisfaction. And my first wish is, (although it is against the profession of arms, and would clip the wings of some of our young soldiers, who are soaring after glory,) to see THE WHOLE WORLD IN PEACE, and the inhabitants of it, as ONE BAND OF BROTHERS, striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind. 1785.

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Rural employments, while I am spared, which, in the natural course of things, cannot be long, will now take the place of toil, responsibility, and the solicitude attending the walks of public life. And with a desire for the peace, happiness, and prosperity of a country in whose service the prime of my life has been spent, and with the best wishes for the tranquillity of all nations and all men, the scene to me will close; grateful to that Providence, which has directed my steps and shielded me, in the various changes and chances through which I have passed, from my youth to the present moment. 1797.

THE PATRIOT, AT HOME.

Every day, the increasing weight of years * admonishes me, more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it. 1796.

To have finished my public career to the satisfaction of my fellow-citizens, will, to my latest moments, be a matter of pleasing reflection. And to find an evidence of this approbation among my neighbors and friends, (some of whom have been the companions of my juvenile years,) will contribute not a little to heighten this enjoyment.

* He was now sixty-four years of age; and he wrote these words three years before his death.

III.

MORAL MAXIMS.

If virtue can secure happiness in another world, he is happy. In this, the seal is now put upon *his* glory. It is no longer in jeopardy from the fickleness of fortune.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *Jan.* 2d, 1800.

No American who has not been in England, can have a just idea of the admiration, expressed among all parties, of General Washington.

RUFUS KING, *Feb.* 6th, 1797.

His example: *that* let us endeavor, by delineating, to impart to mankind. Virtue will place it in her temple, Wisdom in her treasury.

FISHER AMES, *Feb.* 8th, 1800.

I find myself just able to hold the pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief, for having done, written, or said, any thing disagreeable to your Excellency. My career will soon be over; therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are, in my eyes, the GREAT AND GOOD MAN. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of those States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues.

GENERAL THOMAS CONWAY.

NOTE. He was a brigadier-general under Washington, but a wicked calumniator. Gen. Cadwallader challenged him, and dangerously wounded him. Supposing himself to be *mortally* wounded, he wrote these words to Washington.

MORAL MAXIMS.

I. VIRTUE AND VICE.

Vice shuddered at his presence, and Virtue always felt his fostering hand.
General HENRY LEE, *Dec.* 26, 1799.

Opinions, subject to the caprice of the world and to time; opinions, weak and changeable, the inheritance of humanity, vanish in the tomb; but glory and virtue live for ever. M. FONTANES, 1800.

Soldiers, magistrates, people, all love and admire him; all speak of him in terms of tenderness and veneration. Does there, then, exist a virtue capable of restraining the injustice of mankind; or are glory and happiness too recently established in America, for Envy to have deigned to pass over the seas?
The Marquis DE CHASTELLUX.

VIRTUE AND HAPPINESS.

There is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists, in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity.

HUMAN HAPPINESS AND MORAL DUTY.

The consideration, that human happiness and moral duty are inseparably connected, will always continue to prompt me to promote the progress of the former by inculcating the practice of the latter.

MORALITY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government.

TALENTS, WITHOUT VIRTUE.

Without virtue, and without integrity, the finest talents and the most brilliant accomplishments can never gain the respect, and conciliate the esteem, of the truly valuable part of mankind. 1787.

IGNORANCE AND WICKEDNESS.

There is more of wickedness than ignorance mixed in our Councils. Ignorance and design are difficult to combat. Out of these proceed illiberal sentiments, improper jealousies, and a train of evils, which oftentimes, in republican governments, must be sorely felt, before they can be removed.

Ignorance being a fit soil for design to work in, tools are employed, which a generous mind would disdain to use ; and which nothing but time, and their own puerile or wicked productions, can show the inefficacy and dangerous tendency of. I often think of our situation, and view it with concern. 1788.

GOOD SENSE AND HONESTY.

These are qualities too rare and too precious, not to merit particular esteem.

THE MOST ENVIABLE OF TITLES.

I hope I shall always possess firmness and virtue enough, to maintain, what I consider the most enviable of all titles, the character of an " Honest Man."

COMMON SENSE AND COMMON HONESTY.

It appears to me, that little more than common sense and common honesty, in the transactions of the community at large, would be necessary to make us a great and happy nation ; for, if the general government lately adopted shall be arranged and administered in such a manner, as to acquire the full confi-

dence of the American people, I sincerely believe they will have greater advantages, from their natural, moral, and political circumstances, for public felicity, than any other people ever possessed.

POLITICAL EQUITY.

In all matters of great national moment, the only true line of conduct is, dispassionately to compare the advantages and disadvantages of the measure proposed, and decide from the balance.

CONVENIENCE AND FRIENDSHIP.

I can never think of promoting my convenience at the expense of a friend's interest and inclination.

CONVENIENCE AND DUTY.

Whilst I am in office, I shall never suffer private convenience to interfere with what I conceive to be my official duty.

HUMAN IMPERFECTION.

It is to be lamented, that great characters are seldom without a blot.

If the enlightened and virtuous part of the community will make allowances for my *involuntary* errors, I will promise, that they shall have no cause to accuse me of wilful ones.

SENSE OF HONOR.

I feel every thing that hurts the sensibility of a gentleman. 1778.

TREASON.

This * is an event, that occasions me equal regret and mortification ; but, traitors are the growth of every country, and, in a Revolution of the present nature, it is more to be wondered at, that the catalogue is so small, than that there have been found a few. 1780.

THE TRIAL OF VIRTUE.

Few men have virtue to withstand the highest bidder.

DECEPTION.

I hate deception, even where the imagination only is concerned.

* Arnold's treason.

PALLIATING FAULTS.

I shall never attempt to palliate my own foibles, by exposing the error of another.

INGRATITUDE.

Nothing is more a stranger to my breast, or a sin that my soul more abhors, than that black and detestable one, of ingratitude.

Ingratitude, I hope, will never constitute a part of my character, nor find a place in my bosom.

PROMISES.

I never wish to promise more, than I have a moral certainty of performing.

SECRECY AND DESPATCH.

Secrecy and despatch may prove the soul of success to an enterprise.

AGREEMENTS.

Loose agreements are seldom rewarded, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

PRIVATE VIRTUES, AND MILITARY GLORY.

The private virtues of economy, prudence, and industry, are not less amiable, in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valor, perseverance, and enterprise, in public life.

THE PASSIONS.

The various passions and motives, by which men are influenced, are concomitants of fallibility, and ingrafted into our nature.

CONSCIENCE.

Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, called Conscience.

BIDING THE TIME.

Time may unfold more, than prudence ought to disclose.

MORAL CHARACTER.

A good moral character is the first essential in a man. It is therefore highly important, to endeavor not only to be learned, but virtuous.

II. APPROBATION AND CENSURE.

Enemies he had, but they were few, and chiefly of the same family with the man, who could not bear to hear Aristides always called the just. Among them all *I have never heard of one who charged him with any habitual vice, or even foible.*

DAVID RAMSAY, M. D., *Jan.* 15, 1800.

I cannot, indeed, help admiring the wisdom and fortune of this great man. By the phrase "fortune," I mean not in the smallest degree to derogate from his merit. But, notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate, that he should have experienced a lot, which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and have passed through such a variety of scenes, without stain and without reproach.

It must, indeed, create astonishment, that, placed in circumstances so critical, and filling for a series of years a station so conspicuous, his character should never once have been called in question; that he should in no one instance have been accused either of improper insolence, or of mean submission, in his transactions with foreign nations.

For him it has been reserved, to run the race of glory, without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career.

CHARLES FOX, *British Parliament, Jan.* 31, 1794.

APPROBATION OF THE WISE AND GOOD.

Nothing in human life can afford a liberal mind more rational and exquisite satisfaction, than the approbation of a wise, a great, and a virtuous man.

REPUTATION.

The good opinion of honest men, friends to freedom, and well-wishers to mankind, wherever they may be born or happen to reside, is the only kind of reputation a wise man would ever desire.

POPULAR FAVOR.

The account which you * have given of the sentiments of the people respecting my conduct, is extremely flattering. Pray God I may continue to deserve them, in the perplexed and intricate situation I stand in. 1775.

—

To stand well in the estimation of one's country, is a happiness that no rational creature can be insensible of.

DESERT, DISTINGUISHED FROM SUCCESS.

The thinking part of mankind do not form their judgment from *events ;* and their equity will ever attach equal glory, to those actions which *deserve success,* and those which have been *crowned with it.*

* General Joseph Reed.

It is in the trying circumstances to which your Excellency * has been exposed, that the virtues of a great mind are displayed in their brightest lustre, and that a General's character is better known, than in the moment of victory. It was yours, by every title that can give it ; and the adverse element which robbed you of your prize, can never deprive you of the glory due to you.

Though your success has not been equal to your expectations, yet you have the satisfaction of reflecting, that you have rendered essential services to the common cause. 1778.

TRIUMPH OF PRINCIPLE.

In times of turbulence, when the passions are afloat, calm reason is swallowed up, in the extremes to which measures are attempted to be carried ; but, when those subside, and its empire is resumed, the man who acts from principle, who pursues the path of truth, moderation, and justice, will regain his influence.

DUTY AND VIRTUE, BEFORE POPULARITY.

Though I prize as I ought the good opinion of my fellow-citizens, yet, if I know myself, I would not seek

* Count D'Estaing, the French Admiral, whose fleet had greatly suffered in a storm.

or retain popularity, at the expense of one social duty or moral virtue.

CONSCIOUS RECTITUDE.

I have happily had but few differences, with those with whom I have the honor of being connected in the service. I bore much, for the sake of peace and the public good. My conscience tells me, that I acted right, in these transactions ; and should they ever come to the knowledge of the world, I trust I shall stand acquitted. 1781.

Conscious integrity has been my unceasing support ; and, while it gave me confidence in the measures I pursued, the belief of it, by acquiring to me the confidence of my fellow-citizens, insured the success which they have had. This consciousness will accompany me in my retirement. Without it, public applause could be viewed only as a proof of public error, and felt as the upbraiding of personal demerit. 1797.

THE GOOD CITIZEN'S TWO-FOLD MOTIVE.

Next to the approbation of my own mind, arising from a consciousness of having uniformly, diligently, and sincerely aimed, by *doing my duty*, to promote the true interests of my country, the approbation of my

fellow-citizens is dear to my heart. In a free country, such approbation *should* be a citizen's best reward; and so it *would* be, if truth and candor were always to estimate the conduct of public men. But the reverse is so often the case, that he who wishes to serve his country, if not influenced by higher motives, runs the risk of being miserably disappointed. Under such discouragements, the good citizen will look *beyond the applauses and reproaches of men*, and, persevering in his DUTY, stand firm in *conscious rectitude*, and in the hope of approving Heaven. 1795.

DICTATES OF CONSCIENCE.

While I feel the most lively gratitude for the many instances of approbation from my country, I can no otherwise deserve it, than by obeying the dictates of my conscience.

PUBLIC OBSERVATION.

The eyes of Argus are upon me; and no slip will pass unnoticed.

ENMITY AND DETRACTION.

It is a severe tax, which all must pay, who are called to eminent stations of trust, not only to be held

up, as conspicuous marks to the enmity of the public adversaries of their country, but to the malice of secret traitors, and the envious intrigues of false friends and factions.

MAKING ENEMIES.

Among individuals, the most certain way to make a man your enemy, is to tell him you esteem him such. So, with public bodies.

SCANDAL.

Speak not evil of the absent: it is unjust.

ANTIDOTE TO SLANDERS.

So far as they are aimed at me personally, it is a misconception, if it be supposed I feel the venom of the darts. I have a consolation, which proves an antidote against their utmost malignity, rendering my mind, in the retirement I have long panted after, perfectly tranquil. 1797.

THE DISCONTENTED.

Against the malignity of the discontented, the turbulent, and the vicious, no abilities, no exertions, nor the most unshaken integrity, are any safeguard.

It is much easier to avoid disagreements, than to remove discontents.

RASH JUDGMENTS.

It is the nature of man, to be displeased with every thing that disappoints a favorite hope or flattering project ; and it is the folly of too many of them, to condemn without investigating circumstances.

GRATUITOUS CENSURE.

I have studiously avoided, in all letters intended for the public eye, (I mean for that of Congress,) every expression that could give pain or uneasiness.

I shall observe the same rule, with respect to private letters, further than appears absolutely necessary for the elucidation of facts.

FRIENDLY MONITIONS.

The hints you * have communicated from time to time, not only deserve, but do most sincerely and cordially meet with my thanks.

You cannot render a more acceptable service, nor, in my estimation, give a more convincing proof of your

* General Joseph Reed.

friendship, than by a free, open, and undisguised account of every matter relative to myself or conduct.

I can bear to hear of imputed or real errors. The man who wishes to stand well in the opinion of others, must do this, because he is thereby enabled to correct his faults, or remove prejudices which are imbibed against him. For this reason, I shall thank you for giving me the opinions of the world, upon such points as you know me to be interested in.

As I have but one capital object in view, I could wish to make my conduct coincide with the wishes of mankind, as far as I can consistently. I mean, without departing from that great line of duty, which, though hid under a cloud for some time, from a peculiarity of circumstances, may nevertheless bear a scrutiny. *Jan.* 1776.

OPINION OF THE WORLD.

Nothing would give me more real satisfaction, than to know the sentiments which are entertained of me by the public, whether they be favorable or otherwise.

—

The man who wishes to steer clear of shelves and rocks, must know where they lie.

—

I know, (but to declare it, unless to a friend, may be an argument of vanity,) the integrity of my own heart. I know the unhappy predicament I stand in.

I know, that much is expected of me. I know, that without men, without arms, without any thing fit for the accommodation of a soldier, little is to be done; and, (which is mortifying,) I know, that I cannot stand justified to the world, without exposing my own weakness, and injuring the cause by declaring my wants, which I am determined not to do, further than unavoidable necessity brings every man acquainted with them.

If, under these circumstances, I am able to keep above water, as it were, in the esteem of mankind, I shall feel myself happy. But if, from the unknown peculiarity of my circumstances, I suffer in the opinion of the world, I shall not think you * take the freedom of a friend, if you conceal the reflections that may be cast upon my conduct.

My own situation feels so irksome to me at times, that if I did not consult *the public good* more than *my own tranquillity*, I should, long ere this, have put every thing to the cast of a die. *Feb.*, 1776.

THE BEST ANSWER TO CALUMNY.

To persevere in one's duty and be silent, is the best answer to calumny.

* General Joseph Reed.

EVIL REPORTS.

I never suffer reports, unsupported by proofs, to have weight in my mind.

VANITY.

Do not conceive, that fine clothes make fine men, any more than fine feathers make fine birds.

A plain, genteel dress is more admired, and obtains more credit, than lace and embroidery, in the eyes of the judicious and sensible.

VERBIAGE OF VANITY.

There is no restraining men's tongues or pens, when charged with a little vanity.

IDLE FORMS.

Every one who has any knowledge of my manner of acting in public life, will be persuaded, that I am not accustomed to impede the despatch, or frustrate the success, of business, by a ceremonious attention to idle forms.

CEREMONIOUS CIVILITY, AND INCIVILITY.

I cannot charge myself with incivility, or, what in my opinion is tantamount, ceremonious civility.

ON MEMOIRS.

I do not think vanity is a trait of my character. Any memoirs of my life, distinct and unconnected with the general history of the war, would rather hurt my feelings, than tickle my pride, while I live.

I had rather glide gently down the stream of life, leaving it to posterity, to think and say what they please of me, than, by any act of mine, to have vanity or ostentation imputed to me. 1784.

THE CITIZEN'S REWARD.

The confidence and affection of fellow-citizens, are the most valuable and agreeable reward a citizen can receive.

Next to the happiness of my country, this is the most powerful inducement I can have, to exert myself in its service. 1781.

CAVILLERS.

With those who are disposed to cavil, or who have the *itch of writing* strongly upon them, nothing can be made to suit their palates. The best way, therefore, to disconcert and defeat them, is to take no notice of their publications. All else is but food for declamation.

RECRIMINATION.

Should any thing tending to give me anxiety, present itself, I shall never undertake the painful task of recrimination ; nor do I know, that I should even enter upon my justification.

CENSURE, THE SHADOW OF MERIT.

Why should I expect to be exempt from censure, the unfailing lot of an elevated station ? Merit and talents, which I cannot pretend to rival, have ever been subject to it.

UNJUST CENSURE, TO BE DESPISED.

While doing what my conscience informed me was right, as it respected my God, my country, and my-

self, I could despise all the party clamor, and unjust censure, which might be expected from some, whose personal enmity might be occasioned by their hostility to the Government.

CENSURE AND DUTY.

I am resolved, that no misrepresentations, falsehoods, or calumny, shall make me swerve from what I conceive to be the strict line of duty. 1795.

MEN MUST BE TOUCHED, TO BE MOVED.

Unfortunately, the nature of man is such, that the experience of others is not attended to as it ought to be.

We must *feel*, ourselves, before we can think, or perceive the danger that threatens us.

UNAVAILING COMPLAINTS, AND PRESENT DUTY.

We ought not to look back, unless it is to derive useful lessons from past errors, and for the purpose of profiting by dear-bought experience.

To inveigh against things that are past and irremediable, is unpleasing ; but to steer clear of the shelves and rocks we have struck upon, is the part of

wisdom, equally as incumbent on political as other men, who have their own little bark, or that of others, to navigate through the intricate paths of life, or the trackless ocean, to the haven of security and rest. 1781.

SENSIBILITY TO PUBLIC APPROBATION.

For having performed duties, which I conceive every country has a right to require of its citizens, I claim no merit ; but no man can feel, more sensibly, the reward of approbation for such services than I do.

APPEAL TO THE ARCHIVES.

I appeal to the Archives of Congress, and call on those sacred deposits to witness for me. 1783.

III. INTEMPERANCE AND GAMING.

They were offensive to his sense of moral and religious propriety, and therefore discouraged, from principle, through every period of his life.

E. C. M'GUIRE, D. D.

On no occasion is there the least authority for supposing he ever transcended the bounds of moderation in the enjoyments of life, or the indulgence of those passions universally implanted in the nature of man. He consequently escaped all the delusions of excess, which consist in false, misty, and exaggerated views or designs, stimulated into action by artificial excitement, and misleading the judgment, while they aggravate the passions and madden imagination.

Thus, his intellect was always clear, and the admirable physical powers bestowed upon him by nature were never debased to bad purposes, or weakened by licentious indulgence.

JAMES K. PAULDING.

USE OF WINES AND SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS.

My chief reason for supposing the West India trade detrimental to us, was, that rum, the principal article received from thence, is the bane of morals, and the parent of idleness.

I could wish to see the direct commerce with France encouraged, to the greatest degree ; and that

almost all the foreign spirits which we consume, should consist of the wines and brandies made in that country. The use of these liquors would, at least, be more innocent to the health and morals of the people, than the thousands of hogsheads of poisonous rum, which are annually consumed in the United States.

1788.

IMMORALITY, DISCOUNTENANCED.

This, I am certain of, and can call my conscience, and, what I suppose will be a still more demonstrative proof in the eyes of the world, my Orders, to witness, how much I have, both by threats and persuasive means, endeavored to discountenance gaming, drinking, swearing, and irregularities of every other kind ; while I have, on the other hand, practised every artifice, to inspire a laudable emulation, in the officers, for the service of their country, and to encourage the soldiers, in the unerring exercise of their duty.

1756

TIPPLING-HOUSES.

I apprehend, it will be thought advisable, to keep a garrison always at Fort Loudoun ; for which reason, I would beg to represent the number of tippling-houses in Winchester, as a great nuisance to the soldiers, who, by this means, in despite of the utmost care and

vigilance, are, so long as their pay holds out, incessantly drunk, and unfit for service. 1756.

PROFANITY AND DRUNKENNESS.

The General most earnestly requires and expects a due observance of those articles of war, established for the government of the army, which forbid profane cursing, swearing, and drunkenness. 1776.

GAMES OF CHANCE.

All officers, con-commissioned officers, and soldiers, are positively forbid playing at cards, or other games of chance. At this time of public distress, men may find enough to do, in the service of their God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality. 1776.

—

Gaming, of every kind, is expressly forbidden, as being the foundation of evil, and the cause of many a brave and gallant officer's ruin. Games of exercise, for amusement, may not only be permitted, but encouraged. 1777.

—

Avoid gaming. This is a vice which is productive of every possible evil; equally injurious to the morals and health of its votaries. 1783.

It is the child of Avarice, the brother of Iniquity, and the father of Mischief.

—

It has been the ruin of many worthy families, the loss of many a man's honor, and the cause of suicide.

1783.

—

To all those who enter the lists, it is equally fascinating. The *successful* gamester pushes his good fortune, till it is overtaken by a reverse. The *losing* gamester, in hopes of retrieving past misfortunes, goes on, from bad to worse, till, grown desperate, he pushes at every thing, and loses his all.

—

Few gain, by this abominable practice ; while thousands are injured.

EVILS OF RUM, IN THE ARMY.

The quantity of spirituous liquors, which is a component part of the ration, is so large, as to engender, where they might not before exist, habits of intemperance, alike fatal to health and discipline.

Experience has repeatedly shown, that many soldiers will exchange their rum for other articles ; which is productive of the double mischief, of subjecting those with whom the exchange is made, to the loss of what is far more necessary, and to all the consequences of brutal intoxication. The step having been once taken,

a change is delicate ; but it is believed to be indispensable, and that the temporary evils of a change, can bear no proportion to the permanent and immense evils of a continuance in the error. 1788.

IV. PUNISHMENTS.

From the known humanity of your Excellency, I am induced to ask your protection for Mrs. Arnold, from every insult and injury that a mistaken vengeance of my country may expose her to.

General BENEDICT ARNOLD, *Sept.* 25, 1780.

I receive the greatest attention from his Excellency, General Washington, and from every person under whose charge I happen to be placed.

Major JOHN ANDRE, *Sept.* 29, 1780.

MODERATION AND TENDERNESS.

Though I shall always think it a sacred duty, to exercise, with firmness and energy, the constitutional powers with which I am vested, yet it appears to be no less consistent with the public good, than it is with my personal feelings, to mingle, in the operations of government, every degree of moderation and tenderness which the national justice, dignity, and safety, may permit.

EFFECT OF LENITY.

Lenity will operate with greater force, in some instances, than rigor. It is, therefore, my first wish, to have my whole conduct distinguished by it.

SEVERITIES, NOT TO BE UNDUE.

I shall always be happy to manifest my disinclination to any undue severities, towards those whom the fortunes of war may chance to throw into my hands.

LENITY TO TORIES.

In behalf of the United States, by virtue of the powers committed to me by Congress, I grant full liberty to all such as prefer the interest and protection of Great Britain, to the freedom and happiness of their country, forthwith to withdraw themselves and families within the enemy's lines. 1777.

RULE OF LENITY.

Where acts of Providence interfere to disable a tenant, I would be lenient, in the exaction of rent. But, when the cases are otherwise, I will not be put off; because it is on these my own expectations depend, and

because an accumulation of undischarged rents is a real injury to the tenant.

MILD MEASURES, RECOMMENDED.

With respect to the Tory, who was executed by your * order; though his crime was heinous enough to deserve the fate he met with, and though I am convinced you acted in the affair with good intention, yet I cannot but wish it had not happened.

In the first place, it was a matter that did not come within the jurisdiction of Martial Law; and, therefore, the whole proceeding was irregular and illegal, and will have a tendency to excite discontent, jealousy, and murmurs, among the people.

In the second place, if the trial could properly have been made by a Court-Martial, as the Division you command is only a *detachment* from the army, and you cannot have been considered as in a separate department, there is none of our articles of war, that will justify your inflicting *capital* punishment, even on a *Soldier*, much less on a *Citizen*.

I mention these things, for your future government; as what is past cannot be recalled.

The temper of the Americans, and the principles on which the present contest turns, will not countenance proceedings of this nature. 1777.

* Brigadier-General Deborre.

EXEMPLARY PUNISHMENT.

Severe examples should, in my judgment, be made of those who were forgiven former offences, and are again in arms against us. 1779.

RETALIATION.

Retaliation is certainly just, and sometimes necessary, even where attended with the severest penalties. But, when the evils which may and must result from it, exceed those intended to be redressed, prudence and policy require, that it should be avoided.

—

Americans have the feelings of sympathy, as well as other men. A series of injuries may exhaust their patience ; and it is natural, that the sufferings of their friends in captivity should, at length, irritate them into resentment, and to acts of retaliation

The character of Washington is worthy of the best days of antiquity. . . . It seems as if we had recovered a lost life of some of those illustrious men, whose portraits Plutarch has so well delineated.

M. Fontanes, 1800.

His course he finished, in the peaceful retreat of his own election, in the arms of a dutiful and affectionate wife, and bedewed with the tears of surrounding relatives and friends, with the unspeakably superior advantage to that of a Roman general, in the hopes afforded by the Gospel of pardon and peace!

The Earl of Buchan,
Dryburgh Abbey, Jan. 28, 1800.

By an instinct which is unerring, we call Washington, with grateful reverence,—

THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

William E. Channing, D. D.

The most humble citizen of the United States may copy his private virtues, and the most lofty and magnanimous spirit cannot propose to itself a more noble object of ambition, than to aspire to an imitation of his public services.

In contemplating such a character, our children will equally acquire a reverence for virtue, and a sacred devotion to the obligations of citizens of a free state.

James K. Paulding.

IV.

RELIGIOUS MAXIMS.

Without making ostentatious professions of religion, he was a sincere believer in the Christian faith, and a truly devout man.

JOHN MARSHALL, *Chief Justice of the United States.*

The virtues of our departed friend were crowned by piety. He is known to have been habitually devout. To Christian institutions he gave the countenance of his example; and no one could express, more fully, his sense of the Providence of God, and the dependence of man.

REV. J. T. KIRKLAND, *Dec.* 29, 1799.

His hopes for his country, were always founded on the righteousness of the cause, and the blessing of Heaven. His was the belief of Reason and Revelation; and that belief was illustrated and exemplified in all his actions.

JAMES K. PAULDING.

I take the liberty to introduce your august and immortal name in a short sentence, which will be found in the book * I send you. I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted classes of men; but you are the only human being for whom I ever felt an awful reverence. I sincerely pray God, to grant a long and serene evening to a life so gloriously devoted to the universal happiness of the world.

T. ERSKINE, *afterward*
LORD ERSKINE, *Lond.* 1795.

* On the War with France.

RELIGIOUS MAXIMS.

1. GOD.

Neither in the parade of military life, nor in the cares of civil administration; neither in a state of depression, nor amidst the intoxicating sweets of power and adulation; did he forget to pay homage to the "MOST HIGH, who doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth."

WILLIAM LINN, D.D., *Feb.* 22, 1800.

THE EXISTENCE OF A SUPREME BEING.

It is impossible to account for the creation of the universe, without the agency of a Supreme Being.

It is impossible to govern the universe, without th aid of a Supreme Being.

It is impossible to reason, without arriving at a Supreme Being.

Religion is as necessary to reason, as reason is to religion. The one cannot exist, without the other. A reasoning being would lose his reason, in attempting to account for the great phenomena of nature, had he not a Supreme Being to refer to ; and well has it been said, that if there had been no God, mankind would have been obliged to imagine one.

THE AUTHOR OF ALL GOOD.

That great and glorious Being is the Beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be.

THE SOURCE OF ALL BLESSINGS.

The sentiments we have mutually expressed, of profound gratitude to the source of those numerous blessings, the Author of all good, are pledges of our obligations, to unite our sincere and zealous endeavors, as the instruments of Divine Providence, to preserve and perpetuate them. 1795.

THE DISPOSER OF EVENTS; ALL-POWERFUL, AND ALL-WISE.

I feel now, as I conceive a wearied traveller must do, who, after treading many a painful step, with a heavy burden on his shoulders, is eased of the latter, having reached the haven to which all the former were directed; and from his house-top is looking back, and tracing, with an eager eye, the meanders, by which he escaped the quicksands and mires which lay in his way; and into which none but the All-powerful Guide and Dispenser of human events could have prevented his falling. 1784.

As the All-wise Disposer of events has hitherto watched over my steps, I trust, that, in the important one I may soon be called upon to take, he will mark the course so plainly, that I cannot mistake the way. 1792.

DIVINE WISDOM AND GOODNESS.

I flatter myself, that a Superintending Providence is ordering every thing for the best, and that, in due time, all will end well. That it may be so, and soon, is my most fervent wish. 1777.

The determinations of Providence are always wise, often inscrutable; and, though its decrees appear to

bear hard upon us at times, they are nevertheless meant for gracious purposes.

DIVINE MUNIFICENCE.

When I contemplate the interposition of Providence, as it was manifested in guiding us through the Revolution, in preparing us for the reception of a General Government, and in conciliating the good will of the people of America towards one another, after its adoption, I feel myself oppressed, and almost overwhelmed, with a sense of the Divine Munificence. 1789.

I have made a tour through the Lakes George and Champlain, as far as Crown Point. Thence returning to Schenectady, I proceeded up the Mohawk River to Fort Schuyler, (formerly Fort Stanwix,) and crossed over to Wood Creek, which empties into the Oneida Lake, and affords the water communication with Ontario. I then traversed the country, to the head of the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, and viewed Lake Otsego, and the portage between that lake and the Mohawk River at Canajoharie.

Prompted by these actual observations, I could not help taking a more extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States, from maps, and the information of others; and could not but be struck with the immense extent and importance of it, and with the goodness of that Providence, which has dealt

its favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God, we may have wisdom enough to improve them.

GOD, OUR PRESERVER.

We may, with a kind of pious and grateful exultation, trace the finger of Providence through these dark and mysterious events, which first induced the States to appoint a General Convention, and then led them, one after another, by such steps as were best calculated to effect the object, into the adoption of a system recommended by that General Convention; thereby, in all human probability, laying a lasting foundation for tranquillity and happiness, when we had but too much reason to fear, that confusion and misery were coming rapidly upon us.

That the same good Providence may still continue to protect us, and prevent us from dashing the cup of national felicity, just as it has been lifted to our lips, is my earnest prayer. 1788.

The Great Director of events has carried us through a variety of scenes, during this long and bloody contest, in which we have been, for seven campaigns, most nobly struggling. 1781.

THE OMNIPOTENT, OUR GUARDIAN.

I earnestly pray, that the Omnipotent Being, who has not deserted the cause of America in the hour of its extreme hazard, may never yield so fair a heritage to anarchy or despotism. 1788.

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Satisfied, that we have sincerely wished and endeavored to avert war, and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can, with pure hearts, appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause, and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence, which has hitherto, and so often, signally favored the people of the United States. 1798.

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The Great Ruler of Events will not permit the happiness of so many millions to be destroyed. 1791.

THE DIVINE DELIVERER.

Our affairs are brought to a perilous crisis, that the hand of Providence, I trust, may be more conspicuous in our deliverance.

The many remarkable interpositions of the Divine Government, in the hours of our deepest distress and darkness, have been too luminous, to suffer me to doubt the happy issue of the present contest. 1781.

DIVINE PROTECTION.

By the all-powerful dispensations of Providence, I have been protected,* beyond all human probability, or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt, although death was levelling my companions on every side of me. 1755.

Providence has heretofore taken us up, when all other means and hope seemed to be departing from us. In this I will confide. 1778.

I commend my friends, and, with them, the interests and happiness of our dear country, to the keeping and protection of Almighty God. 1783.

THE SUPREME RULER OF THE UNIVERSE.

The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period, when the administration of the present form of government commenced. And I cannot omit the occasion, to congratulate you,† and my country, on the success of the

* In Braddock's defeat.

† Congress.

experiment, nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe and Sovereign Arbiter of Nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States, that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved, and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties, may be perpetual. 1796.

THE RULER OF NATIONS.

Let us unite, in imploring the Supreme Ruler of Nations, to spread his holy protection over these United States; to turn the machinations of the wicked, to the confirming of our Constitution; to enable us, at all times, to root out internal sedition, and put invasion to flight; to perpetuate to our country that prosperity, which His goodness has already conferred, and to verify the anticipations of this government being a safeguard of human rights. 1794.

May we unite, in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the Great Lord and Ruler of Nations, and beseech him to pardon our national and other transgressions; to enable us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our several and relative duties, properly and punctually; to render our national government a blessing to all the people, by constantly being a government of wise, just, and constitutional

laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed ; to protect and guide all sovereigns and nations, (especially such as have shown kindness to us,) and to bless them with good governments, peace and concord ; to promote the knowledge and practice of true religion and virtue, and the increase of science, among them and us ; and, generally, to grant unto all mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity, as He alone knows to be best. 1789.

THE FATE OF NATIONS, SUSPENDED ON GOD'S WILL.

I humbly implore that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our endeavors for the general happiness. 1793.

THE GOD OF ARMIES.

The vicissitudes of war are in the hands of the Supreme Director, where is no control.

NATIONAL RIGHTEOUSNESS, AND THE DIVINE FAVOR.

The propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected, on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained.

1789.

REMARKABLE INSTANCES OF THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD.

In no instance, since the commencement of the war, has the interposition of Providence appeared more remarkably conspicuous, than in the rescue of the post and garrison of West Point from Arnold's villainous perfidy. 1780.

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I most devoutly congratulate my country, and every well-wisher to the cause, on this * signal stroke of Providence.

—

General Lee, having command of the van of the army, consisting of full five thousand chosen men, was ordered to begin the attack next morning, so soon as the enemy began to march; to be supported by me; but, strange to tell! when he came up with the enemy, a retreat commenced; whether by his order, or from other causes, is now a subject of inquiry, and consequently improper to be descanted upon, as he is in arrest, and a court-martial is sitting for his trial. A retreat, however, was the fact, be the causes what they may; and the disorder arising from it would have proved fatal to the army, had not that bountiful Providence, which has never failed us in the hour of distress, enabled me to form a regiment or two, (of those that were retreating,) in the face of the enemy, and under their fire; by which means, a stand was made

* The defeat of General Burgoyne.

long enough (the place through which the enemy were pursuing being narrow,) to form the troops, that were advancing, upon an advantageous piece of ground, in the rear. Here our affairs took a favorable turn.

1778.

The interposing hand of Heaven, in the various instances of our extensive preparations for this * operation, has been most conspicuous and remarkable.

1781.

GOD, OUR BENIGN PARENT.

Having imparted to you † my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave ; but not without resorting, once more, to the Benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that, since He has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating, in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding, with unparalleled unanimity, on a form of government, for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness, so His divine blessing may be equally conspicuous, in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of this government must depend. 1789.

* The surrender of Yorktown and Gloucester.

† Congress.

II. RELIGION AND THE STATE.

There can be no political happiness, without liberty; there can be no liberty without morality; and there can be no morality, without religion.

DAVID RAMSAY, M.D.

Without religion, there can be no democratic society. . . Religion is the common source of all the benevolent ideas that exercise influence on mankind. . . . The American people are religious, by their origin, by conviction, and by democratic principles.

M. POUSSIN,
Minister of France to the United States.

MUTUAL INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION.

Whilst just Government protects all, in their religious rites, true Religion affords Government its surest support. 1789.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE UNION.

I believe, its mild yet efficient operations will tend to remove every remaining apprehension of those with whose opinions it may not entirely coincide, as well as

to confirm the hopes of its numerous friends ; and the moderation, patriotism, and wisdom of the present Federal Legislature seem to promise the restoration of order and our ancient virtues, the extension of genuine religion, and the consequent advancement of our respectability abroad, and of our substantial happiness at home. 1789.

NATIONAL JUSTICE AND BENEVOLENCE.

Observe good faith and justice, towards all nations ; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct ; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it ? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous, and too novel, example, of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.

Who can doubt, that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it ? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent *felicity* of a nation with its *virtue ?*

The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. 1796.

RELIGION AND MORALITY, THE PILLARS OF HUMAN HAPPINESS.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports.

In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labor to subvert *these great pillars of human happiness*, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens.

The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert our oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice ?

1796.

RELIGION, DISTINGUISHED FROM MORALITY.

Let us with caution indulge the supposition, that Morality can be maintained without Religion.

Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that National Morality can prevail, in exclusion of *Religious Principle.*

1796.

RELIGIOUS DUTIES OF NATIONS.

It is the duty of all nations, to acknowledge the Providence of Almighty God, to obey his will, to be grateful for his benefits, and humbly to implore his protection and favor. 1789.

NATIONAL HOMAGE TO GOD.

It would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first * official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate, to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in the administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to its charge.

In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself, that it expresses your sentiments, not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either.

No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every

* His Inaugural Address, April 30th, 1789.

step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency ; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings, which the past seem to presage.

These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind, to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking, that there are none, under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence. 1789.

It always affords me satisfaction, when I find a concurrence in sentiment and practice between all conscientious men, in acknowledgments of homage to the great Governor of the Universe, and in professions of support to just civil government. 1789.

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS THANKSGIVING.

It having pleased the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, to defend the cause of the United American States, and finally to raise us up a powerful friend

among the Princes of the earth, to establish our liberty and independency upon a lasting foundation; it becomes us to set apart a day, for gratefully acknowledging the divine goodness, and celebrating the important event, which we owe to His divine interposition.

The several brigades are to be assembled for this purpose, at nine o'clock to-morrow morning,* when their Chaplains will communicate the intelligence contained in the Postscript of the Pennsylvania Gazette of the second instant, and offer up Thanksgiving, and deliver a discourse suitable to the occasion.

At half-past ten o'clock, a cannon will be fired, which is to be the signal for the men to be under arms; the brigade inspectors will then inspect their dress and arms, and form the battalions according to the instructions given them, and announce to the commanding officers of the brigade, that the battalions are formed.

The commanders of brigades will then appoint the field-officers to the battalions, after which each battalion will be ordered to load and ground their arms.

At half-past eleven, a second cannon will be fired, as a signal for the march, upon which the several brigades will begin their march, by wheeling to the right by platoons, and proceed, by the nearest way, to the left of their ground by the new position; this will be pointed out, by the brigade inspectors.

* May 7th, 1778.

A third signal will be given, on which there will be a discharge of thirteen cannon ; after which, a running fire of the infantry will begin on the right of Woodford's, and continue throughout the front line ; it will then be taken upon the left of the second line, and continue to the right.

Upon a signal given, the whole army will huzza, LONG LIVE THE KING OF FRANCE ; the artillery then begins again, and fires thirteen rounds ; this will be succeeded by a second general discharge of musketry, in a running fire, and huzza, LONG LIVE THE FRIENDLY EUROPEAN POWERS.

The last discharge of thirteen pieces of artillery, will be given, followed by a general running fire, and huzza, THE AMERICAN STATES. 1778.

III. RELIGIOUS ACTS AND EMOTIONS.

Above all, he was influenced by the more permanent and operative principle of religion; by the firm and active persuasion of an All-seeing, All-powerful Deity; by the high consciousness of future accountability, and the assured hope and prospect of immortality. JOHN DAVIS, 1800. *Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences.*

I am not surprised at what George has done, for he was always a good boy.
MARY, *the Mother of Washington.*

REVERENCE.

When you speak of God, or his attributes, let it be seriously, in reverence.

DEPENDENCE ON GOD.

It will ever be the first wish of my heart, to inculcate a due sense of the dependence we ought to place in that All-Wise and Powerful Being, on whom alone our success depends. 1778.

We have abundant reasons to thank Providence,

for its many favorable interpositions in our behalf. It has, at times, been my only dependence ; for, all other resources seemed to have failed us. 1781.

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If I should, unluckily for me, be reduced to the necessity of giving an answer to the question,* I would fain do what is, in all respects, best. But how can I know what is best, or on what I shall determine ? May Heaven assist me, in forming a judgment ; for, at present, I see nothing but clouds and darkness before me. 1788.

—

I know the delicate nature of the duties, incident to the part I am called upon to perform ; and I feel my incompetence, without the singular assistance of Providence, to discharge them in a satisfactory manner.

FAITH, AND EFFORT.

To trust altogether in the justice of our cause, without our own utmost exertions, would be tempting Providence. 1776.

—

Liberty, honor, and safety, are all at stake ; and, I trust, Providence will smile upon our efforts, and establish us, once more, the inhabitants of a free and happy country. 1776.

* Whether he would accept the office of President of the United States.

I trust in that Providence, which has saved us in six troubles, yea, in seven, to rescue us again from any imminent, though unseen dangers. Nothing, however, on our part, ought to be left undone. 1788.

—

The honor and safety of our bleeding country, and every other motive that can influence the brave and heroic patriot, call loudly upon us, to acquit ourselves with resolution. In short, we must now determine, to be enslaved or free. If we make freedom our choice, we must obtain it, by the blessing of Heaven on our united and vigorous efforts.

RELIGIOUS GRATITUDE.

It is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful, to contemplate, that, after two years' manœuvering, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes that, perhaps, ever attended any one contest since the creation, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and that the offending party at the beginning, is now reduced to the use of spade and pickaxe, for defence.

The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in this, that he must be worse than an infidel, that lacks faith, and more than wicked, that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations. 1778.

—

My friends may believe me sincere, in my profes-

sions of attachment to them, whilst Providence has a just claim to my humble and grateful thanks for its protection and direction of me, through the many difficult and intricate scenes which this contest has produced ; and for its constant interposition in our behalf, when the clouds were heaviest, and seemed ready to burst upon us. 1778.

To paint the distresses and perilous situation of the army, in the course of last winter, for want of clothes, provisions, and almost every other necessary essential to the well-being, I may say, *existence*, of an army, would require more time and an abler pen than mine ; nor, since our prospects have so miraculously brightened, shall I attempt it, or even bear it in remembrance, further than as a memento of what is due to the Great Author of all the care and good that have been extended, in relieving us in difficulties and distress. 1778.

Although guided by our excellent Constitution in the discharge of official duties, and actuated, through the whole course of my public life, solely by a wish to promote the best interests of our country ; yet, without the beneficial interposition of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, we could not have reached the distinguished situation which we have attained with such unprecedented rapidity. To Him, therefore, should we bow with gratitude and reverence, and endeavor to merit a continuance of his special favors. 1797.

RELIANCE ON THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD.

That the metropolis * of your colony is now relieved, from the cruel and oppressive invasions of those who were sent to erect the standard of lawless domination, and to trample on the rights of humanity, and is again open and free for its rightful possessors, must give pleasure to every virtuous and sympathetic heart; and its being effected without the blood of our soldiers and fellow-citizens, must be ascribed to the interposition of that Providence, which has manifestly appeared in our behalf, through the whole of this important struggle, as well as to the measures pursued for bringing about the happy event.

May that Being who is powerful to save, and in whose hands is the fate of nations, look down with an eye of tender pity and compassion, upon the whole of the United Colonies; may he continue to smile upon their councils and arms, and crown them with success, whilst employed in the cause of virtue and mankind.

May this distressed colony and its capital, and every part of this wide extended continent, through his divine favor, be restored to more than their former lustre and once happy state, and have peace, liberty, and safety, secured upon a solid, permanent, and lasting foundation. 1776.

* Boston.

TRUST IN GOD.

Should Providence be pleased to crown our arms, in the course of this campaign, with one more fortunate stroke, I think we shall have no great cause for anxiety, respecting the future designs of Britain. I trust all will be well, in His good time.

It is, indeed, a pleasure, from the walks of private life to view, in retrospect, all the meanderings of our past labors, the difficulties through which we have waded, and the happy haven to which the ship has been brought. Is it possible, after this, that it should founder? Will not the All-wise and All-powerful Director of human events preserve it? *I think He will.*

He may, however, for some wise purpose of his own, suffer our indiscretions and folly to place our national character low in the political scale; and this, unless more wisdom and less prejudice take the lead in our government, will most certainly happen.

1784.

THE DESIGN OF GOD, IN OUR TRIALS.

Ours is a kind of struggle, designed, I dare say, by Providence, *to try the patience, fortitude, and virtue of men.*

None, therefore, who are engaged in it, will suffer

himself, I trust, to sink under difficulties, or be discouraged by hardships.

General McIntosh * is only experiencing, upon a small scale, what I have had an ample share of, upon a large one; and must, as I have been obliged to do in a variety of instances, yield to necessity; that is, to use the vulgar phrase, "shape his coat according to his cloth;" or, in other words, if he cannot do what he wishes, he must do what he can. 1778.

SUBMISSION.

The ways of Providence are inscrutable, and mortals must submit.

THE PEOPLE ARRAYED UNDER GOD'S BANNER.

Harassed as we are by unrelenting persecution, obliged by every tie to repel violence by force, urged by self-preservation to exert the strength which Providence has given us to defend our natural rights against the aggressor, *we appeal to the hearts of all mankind for the justice of our cause.* Its event we leave to Him who speaks the fate of nations, in humble confidence that, as his omniscient eye taketh note even of the sparrow that falleth to the ground, so he

* In the Indian War.

will not withdraw his countenance from a people who humbly ARRAY THEMSELVES UNDER HIS BANNER, in defence of the noblest principles with which he has adorned humanity. 1777.

GLORY AND PRAISE ASCRIBED TO GOD.

If such talents as I possess have been called into action by great events, and those events have terminated happily for our country, the glory should be ascribed to the manifest interposition of an overruling Providence. 1789.

—

I was but the humble agent of favoring Heaven, whose benign influence was so often manifested in our behalf, and to whom alone the praise of victory is due.

—

The success which has hitherto attended our united efforts, we owe to the gracious interposition of Heaven ; and to that interposition let us gratefully ascribe the praise of victory, and the blessings of peace. 1789.

DOMESTIC AND PUBLIC VIRTUES, TO BE ENCOURAGED.

I flatter myself, that opportunities will not be wanting, for me to show my disposition to encourage the domestic and public virtues of industry, economy, patriotism, philanthropy, and that righteousness which exalteth a nation.

IV. CHRISTIANITY.

1. *AUTHOR AND SPIRIT OF THE GOSPEL.*

He was a firm believer in the Christian religion; and at his first entrance on his civil administration, he made it known, and adhered to his purpose, that no secular business could be transacted with him, on the day set apart by Christians for the worship of the Deity. J. M. Sewall, *Portsmouth, N. H.*, 1799.

To Christian institutions he gave the countenance of his example.
Rev. J. T. Kirkland.

He was a sincere believer in the Christian faith. *Chief Justice* Marshall.

The General was a Christian. *Judge* Boudinot.

He had all the genuine mildness of Christianity, with all its force. He was neither ostentatious nor ashamed of his Christian profession.
J. Smith, *Exeter, N. H., Feb.* 22, 1800.

He was a professor of Christianity.
Rev. Devereux Jarratt, *Dinwiddie Co., Va.*, 1800.

A Christian, in faith and practice. Jared Sparks.

THE PURE AND BENIGN LIGHT OF REVELATION.

The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above all, the *pure and benign light of Revelation*, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. 1783.

SPIRIT OF CHRISTIANITY.

It would ill become me to conceal the joy I have felt, in perceiving the fraternal affection which appears to increase every day among the friends of genuine religion. It affords edifying prospects, indeed, to see Christians, of every denomination, dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves, in respect to each other, with a more Christian-like spirit, than ever they have done, in any former age, or in any other nation. 1789.

EXAMPLE OF ITS DIVINE AUTHOR.

I make it my earnest prayer, that God would have the Governors, and the States over which they preside, in his holy protection ; that he would incline the hearts of citizens, to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government ; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large, and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field ; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased, to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were *the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion*, and without an humble imitation of whose

example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation. 1783.

CHRISTIAN MORALS.

While I reiterate the professions of my dependence upon Heaven, as the source of all public and private blessings, I will observe, that the general prevalence of piety, philanthropy, honesty, industry, and economy, seems, in the ordinary course of human affairs, particularly necessary for advancing and confirming the happiness of our country.

While all men within our territories are protected, in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of their consciences, it is rationally to be expected from them, in return, that they will all be emulous of evincing the sanctity of their professions, by the innocence of their lives, and the beneficence of their actions; for *no man who is profligate in his morals, or a bad member of the civil community, can possibly be a* TRUE CHRISTIAN, *or a credit to his own religious society.* 1789.

Your love of liberty, your respect for the laws, your habits of industry, and your practice of the moral and religious obligations, are the strongest claims to national and individual happiness. 1789.

The General hopes and trusts, that every officer

and man will endeavor to live and act, as becomes A CHRISTIAN SOLDIER, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country. 1776.

2. *RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.*

Christianity, in the United States, is clothed in its primitive, independent, democratic character. There it preaches, as well as furnishes an example of, equality and human fraternity. Its maintenance is not the work of a privileged caste, or of powerful individuals. It is a tie that binds together all classes of society.

It is my belief, that, in periods remarkable for the prevalence of democratic principles, men should devote their utmost attention to Christianity.

All profess the same religion, the same faith, and entertain the same convictions, though they adopt different vestments, if I may thus express myself when speaking of various sects which seem merely like so many branches borne by the tree of the Christian religion. M. POUSSIN, *Minister of France to the United States.*

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS.

Government being, among other purposes, instituted to protect the persons and CONSCIENCES of men from *oppression*, it certainly is the duty of rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but, according to their stations, to prevent it in others.

If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension, that the Constitution, framed in the convention where I had the honor to preside, might possibly

endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it.

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If I could conceive, that the General Government might ever be so administered, as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, no one would be more zealous than myself, to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

Being no bigot myself, to any mode of worship, I am disposed to indulge the professors of Christianity in the Church, with that road to heaven, which to them shall seem the most direct, plainest, easiest, and least liable to exception. 1787.

—

As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of civil government.

—

I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations, in examples of justice and liberality.

—

I trust, the people of every denomination, who demean themselves as good citizens, will have occasion

to be convinced, that I shall always strive to be a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion.

RELIGIOUS TENETS AND CIVIL RIGHTS.

We have abundant reason to rejoice, that, in this land, the light of truth and reason have triumphed over the power of bigotry and superstition, and that every person may here worship God, according to the dictates of his own heart.

In this enlightened age, and in this land of equal liberty, it is our boast, that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the laws, nor deprive him of the right of attaining and holding the highest offices that are known in the United States. 1793.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

It shall be my endeavor to manifest, by overt acts, the purity of my inclinations for promoting the happiness of mankind, as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power, towards the preservation of the civil and religious liberties of the American people.

The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their con-

sciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings*, but also of their *rights*.

While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that Society or the State can, with propriety, demand or expect; and remain responsible only to their Maker, for the religion, or modes of faith, which they may prefer or profess. 1789.

RELIGIOUS DISPUTES.

Of all the animosities which have existed among mankind, those which are caused by a difference of sentiments in religion, appear to be the most inveterate and distressing, and ought most to be deprecated.

I was in hopes, that the enlightened and liberal policy which has marked the present age, would at least have *reconciled Christians of every denomination*, so far, that we should never again see their religious disputes carried to such a pitch, as to endanger the peace of society. 1792.

TOLERATION OF THE JEWS.

May the same Wonder-working Deity, who long since delivered the Hebrews from their Egyptian oppressors, and planted them in the Promised Land;

whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous, in establishing these United States as an independent nation, still continue to water them with the dews of heaven, and to make the inhabitants, of every denomination, participate in the temporal and spiritual blessings of that people whose God is Jehovah. 1790.

REGARD TO CONSCIENTIOUS SCRUPLES.

In my opinion, the *conscientious scruples* of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness ; and it is my wish and desire, that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them, as a due regard to the protection of the essential interests of the nation may justify or permit.

BROTHERLY LOVE.

Believing, as I do, that religion and morality are essential pillars of civil society, I view, with unspeakable pleasure, that *harmony and brotherly love*, which characterize the clergy of different denominations, as well in this,* as in other parts of the United States ; exhibiting to the world a new and interesting spectacle, at once the pride of our country, and the surest basis of universal harmony. 1797.

* Philadelphia.

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES, AND POLITICAL UNITY.

It gives me the most sensible pleasure to find, that, in our nation, however different are the sentiments of citizens, on *religious doctrines*, they generally concur in one thing ; for their *political professions and practice* are almost universally friendly to the order and happiness of our civil institutions. 1790.

RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE.

As the contempt of the religion of a country, by ridiculing any of its *ceremonies*, or affronting its *Ministers or Votaries*, has ever been deeply resented, you* are to be particularly careful, to restrain every officer and soldier from such imprudence and folly, and to punish every instance of it.

On the other hand, as far as lies in your power, you are to protect and support the free exercise of the religion of the country, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of conscience in religious matters, with your utmost influence and authority.

1775.

Avoid all disrespect of the religion of the country and its ceremonies. Prudence, policy, and a true

* Col. Arnold, in his expedition to Quebec.

Christian spirit, will lead us to look with compassion upon their errors, without insulting them.

While we are contending for our own liberty, we should be very cautious, not to violate the rights of conscience in others, ever considering, that God alone is the judge of the hearts of men, and to Him only, in this case, they are answerable.

UNIVERSAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

I have often expressed my sentiments, that *every man, conducting himself as a good citizen*, and being *accountable to God alone* for his religious opinions, ought to be protected, in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience. 1789.

3. *GOSPEL ORDINANCES.*

He was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church.
Rev. Devereux Jarratt, 1800.

(1.) SUPPORT OF RELIGION.

He was a friend of morality and religion. David Ramsay, M. D.

Although no man's sentiments are more opposed to any kind of restraint upon religious principles than mine are, yet I must confess, that I am not amongst the number of those, who are so much alarmed at the thought of making people pay, towards the support of that which they profess, if of the denomination of Christians, Jews, Mahometans, or otherwise, and thereby obtain proper relief. 1785.

(2.) THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

He encouraged and strengthened the hands of the clergy.
David Ramsay, M. D.

I have often been told by Colonel Ben Temple, (of King William county, Virginia,) who was one of his aids in the French and Indian war, that he has frequently known Washington, on the Sabbath, read the Scriptures, and pray with his regiment, in the absence of the Chaplain. *Rev.* M. L. Weems, 1808.

The want of a Chaplain, I humbly conceive, reflects dishonor on the regiment, as all other officers are allowed. 1756.

The gentlemen of the corps are sensible of the want of a Chaplain, and proposed to support one, at their private expense. But I think it would have a more graceful appearance, were he appointed as others are. 1756.

The last Assembly, in their Supply Bill, provided for a Chaplain to our regiment.

On this subject I had often, without any success, applied to Governor Dinwiddie. I now flatter myself that your Honor * will be pleased to appoint a sober, serious man, for this duty.

Common decency, sir, in a camp, calls for the services of a divine, which ought not to be dispensed with, although the world should be so uncharitable as to think us void of religion, and incapable of good instructions. 1757.

The honorable Continental Congress having been pleased to allow *a Chaplain to each regiment*, with the pay of thirty-three dollars and one-third per month, the Colonels or commanding officers of each regiment are directed to procure Chaplains accordingly; persons of good characters and exemplary lives; and to see, that all inferior officers and soldiers pay them a suitable respect.

The blessing and protection of Heaven are, at all times, necessary; but, especially so, in times of public distress and danger. 1776.

* The President of the Council.

Having heard that it is doubtful, whether the Reverend Mr. Leonard, from your colony, will have it in his power to continue as Chaplain, I cannot but express some concern, as I think his departure will be a loss.

His general conduct has been exemplary and praiseworthy ; in discharging the duties of his office, active and industrious. He has discovered himself to be a warm and steady friend to his country, and taken great pains to animate the soldiers, and impress them with a knowledge of the important rights they are contending for. Upon the late desertion of the troops, he gave a sensible and judicious discourse, holding forth the necessity of courage and bravery, and, at the same time, of obedience and subordination to those in command.

In justice to the merits of this gentleman, I thought it only right, to give you * this testimonial of my opinion of him, and to mention him to you, as a person worthy of your esteem and that of the public.

1775.

The Reverend Mr. Kirkland,† having been introduced to the honorable Congress, can need no particular recommendation from me. But as he now

* Governor Trumbull.

† The Rev. Samuel Kirkland, for more than forty years the spiritual friend and teacher of the Oneida Indians. He was the father of the Rev. Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard University. He died in the year 1808.

wishes to have the affairs of his mission and public employ put upon some suitable footing, I cannot but intimate my sense of the importance of his station, and the great advantages which may result to the United Colonies, from his situation being made respectable.

All accounts agree, that much of the favorable disposition shown by the Indians, may be ascribed to his labor and influence. He has accompanied a chief of the Oneidas to this camp, which I have endeavored to make agreeable to him, both by civility, and some small presents. Mr. Kirkland also being in some necessity for money, to bear his travelling expenses, I have supplied him with thirty-two pounds lawful money. 1775.

I have long had it on my mind, to mention to Congress, that frequent applications have been made to me, respecting the chaplains' pay, which is too small to encourage men of abilities. Some of them, who have left their flocks, are obliged to pay the parson acting for them more than they receive. I need not point out the great utility of gentlemen, whose lives and conversation are unexceptionable, being employed for that service in this army.

There are two ways of making it worth the attention of such. One is, an advancement of their pay; the other, that one chaplain be appointed to two regiments. This last, I think, may be done without inconvenience. I beg leave to recommend this mat-

ter to Congress, whose sentiments hereon I shall impatiently expect. 1775.

(3.) PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WORSHIP.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

It was Washington's custom, to have prayers in the camp, while (1754) at Fort Necessity. JARED SPARKS.

He with constancy attended public worship. During the war, he not unfrequently rode ten or twelve miles from camp, to attend public worship.
AARON BANCROFT, D. D.

I never knew so constant an attendant on Church, as Washington. And his behavior in the House of God was, ever, so deeply reverential, that it produced the happiest effect on my congregation. *Rev.* LEE MASSEY,
Rector of Pohick Church, of which Washington was an active Vestryman.

The General requires and expects of all officers and soldiers, not engaged on actual duty, a punctual attendance on divine service, to implore the blessings of Heaven upon the means used for our safety and defence. 1775.

The Continental Congress having ordered Friday, the 17th instant,* to be observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, humbly to supplicate the mercy of Almighty God, that it would please him to pardon our manifold sins and transgressions, and to prosper the arms of the United Colonies, and finally

* May, 1776.

establish the peace and freedom of America, upon a solid and lasting foundation ; the General commands all officers and soldiers, to pay strict obedience to the orders of the Continental Congress, that, by their unfeigned and pious observance of their religious duties, they may incline the Lord and Giver of victory, to prosper our arms. 1776.

—

That the troops may have an opportunity of attending public worship, as well as to take some rest after the great fatigue they have gone through, the General, in future, excuses them from fatigue duty, on Sundays, except at the shipyards, or on special occasions, until further orders. 1776.

—

As a Chaplain is allowed to each regiment, see that the men regularly attend divine worship. 1777.

—

The situation of the army frequently not admitting of the regular performance of divine service on *Sundays*, the Chaplains of the army are forthwith to meet together, and agree on some method of performing it at *other times*, which method they will make known to the Commander-in-chief. 1777.

—

To-morrow * being the day set apart by the honorable Congress for public thanksgiving and praise ; and duty calling us devoutly to express our grateful acknowledgments to God, for the manifold blessings he

* December 18th, 1777.

has granted us, the General directs, that the army remain in its present quarters, and that the Chaplains perform divine service with their several corps and brigades; and earnestly exhorts all officers and soldiers, whose absence is not indispensably necessary, to attend with reverence the solemnities of the day.

1777.

Divine service is to be performed to-morrow,* in the several brigades and divisions.

The Commander-in-chief earnestly recommends, that the troops not on duty should universally attend, with that seriousness of deportment and gratitude of heart, which the recognition of such reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence demands of us.

1781.

PRIVATE WORSHIP, AND PRACTICAL PIETY.

I have often been told by Colonel Ben Temple, (of King William county, (Virginia,) who was one of his aids in the French and Indian war, ... that, on sudden and unexpected visits into his marquee, he has more than once found him on his knees at his devotions. *Rev.* M. L. Weems, 1808.

The Commander-in-chief of the American armies was observed, [at Valley Forge,] constantly to retire, for the purpose of secret devotion. The Father of his country went alone, and sought strength and guidance from the God of armies and of light. The independence of our country was laid, not only in valor, and patriotism, and wisdom, but in prayer. Albert Barnes, D. D.

On Sundays, unless the weather was uncommonly severe, the President and Mrs. Washington attended divine service at Christ Church, [Philadelphia;] and in the evenings, the President read to Mrs. Washington, in her chamber, a sermon, or some portion from the sacred writings. No visitors, with the exception of Mr. Speaker Trumbull, were admitted on Sundays.

George W. P. Custis, *Grandson of Mrs. Washington.*

* October 21st, 1781, just after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis.

I accidentally witnessed Washington's private devotions in his library, both morning and evening. On these occasions, I saw him in a kneeling posture, with a Bible open before him. I believe such to have been his daily practice.

ROBERT LEWIS, *nephew, and private secretary of Washington.*

General Braddock was buried in his cloak, the same night, on the road, to elude the search of the Indians. Washington, on the testimony of an old soldier, read the funeral service over his remains, by the light of a torch. E. C. M'GUIRE, D. D.

My mother resided, two years, at Mount Vernon, after her marriage with John Parke Custis, the only son of Mrs. Washington. I have heard her say, that General Washington always received the sacrament with my grandmother, before the Revolution. MISS CUSTIS, *twenty years an inmate of Washington's family.*

From the lips of a lady of undoubted veracity, yet living, and a worthy communicant of the Church, I received the interesting fact, that, soon after the close of the revolutionary war, *she saw him* partake of the consecrated symbols of the body and blood of Christ, in Trinity Church, in the city of New York.

GEORGE T. CHAPMAN, D. D.

We esteem it a peculiar happiness, to behold, in our Chief Magistrate, a steady, uniform, avowed friend of the Christian religion; who has commenced his administration, in rational and exalted sentiments of piety, and who, in his private conduct, adorns the doctrine of the Gospel of Christ.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, *May*, 1789.

ORDINANCES.

The pew I hold in the Episcopal Church at Alexandria, shall be charged with an annual rent of five pounds, Virginia money; and I promise to pay annually, to the minister and vestry of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Fairfax parish. *April 25th*, 1785.

VITAL PIETY.

I shall always strive, to prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion. 1789.

FASTING, HUMILIATION, AND PRAYER.

June 1st, Wednesday.—Went to Church, and fasted * all day. 1774.

HABITUAL GRATITUDE FOR GOD'S BOUNTIES.

We are not graceless † at Mount Vernon.

FOLLOWING THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST.

Humility and a pacific temper of mind, ... were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion ; . . . . without an humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

GENEROUS FORGIVENESS OF ENEMIES.

When the order issued, for embarking the troops in Boston, no electric shock, no sudden flash of light-

* The Virginia House of Burgesses had set apart this day, "as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine interposition, for averting the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of civil war, and to give them one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights."

† He always said grace at table.

ning, in a word, not even the last trump, could have struck them * with greater consternation. They were at their wit's end ; and, conscious of their black ingratitude, chose to commit themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves, in a tempestuous season, rather than meet their offended countrymen ; and with this declaration I am told they have done it,— that if they could have thought, that the most abject submission would have procured peace for them, they would have humbled themselves in the dust, and kissed the rod that should be held out for chastisement.

Unhappy wretches ! Deluded mortals ! Would it not be good to grant a generous amnesty, and conquer these people, by a GENERous FORGIVENESS ?

* * *

4. *CHRISTIAN MISSIONS*

The Pale Faces came, and they said, "You fought with us; you have forfeited your right to this land and must go away." But General Washington said, "Come back, and remain in your land, and make your homes with us." Then the Prophet said, "The white men are bad, and cannot dwell in the regions of the Great Spirit, except General Washington." PETER WILSON,

A native Iroquois, before the New York Historical Society, 1847.

MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS.

A system corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy toward an unenlightened

race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honorable to the national character, as conformable to the dictates of sound policy. 1791.

I am clearly in sentiment with her Ladyship,* that Christianity will never make any progress among the Indians, or work any considerable reformation in their principles, until they are brought to a state of greater civilization. And the mode by which she means to attempt this, as far as I have been able to give it consideration, is as likely to succeed, as any other that could have been devised, and may, in time, effect the great and benevolent objects of her Ladyship's wishes. But that love of ease, impatience under any sort of control, and disinclination to any sort of pursuit but those of hunting and of war, would discourage any person, possessed of less piety, zeal, and philanthropy, than are characteristic of Lady Huntington. 1785.

In proportion as the general government of the United States shall acquire strength by duration, it is probable they may have it in their power, to extend a salutary influence to the Aborigines in the extremities of their territory. In the mean time, it will be a desirable thing, for the protection of the Union, to co-operate, as far as circumstances may conveniently

* The Countess of Huntington, who proposed to establish Christian settlements among the Indians.

admit, with the disinterested efforts of your Society,* to civilize and Christianize the savages of the wilderness. 1789.

—

If an event so long and so earnestly desired, as that of converting the Indians to Christianity, and consequently to civilization, can be effected, the Society of Bethlehem † bids fair to bear a very considerable part in it. 1788.

—

Impressed as I am with the opinion, that the most effectual means of securing the permanent attachment of our savage neighbors, is to convince them that we are just, and to show them, that a proper and friendly intercourse with us would be for our mutual advantage, I cannot conclude, without giving you ‡ my thanks, for your pious and benevolent wishes to effect this desirable end, upon the mild principles of religion and philanthropy. And when a proper occasion shall offer, I have no doubt that such measures will be pursued, as may seem best calculated to communicate liberal instruction, and the blessings of society, to their untutored minds. 1792.

* The Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.

† A Moravian settlement in the State of Pennsylvania.

‡ Archbishop Carroll, of the Roman Catholic Church, who proposed to Christianize the savages.

INDIAN LANGUAGES.

Should any efforts of mine, to procure information respecting the different dialects of the aborigines of America, serve to reflect a ray of light on the obscure subject of language in general, I shall be highly gratified. I love to indulge the contemplation of human nature, in a progressive state of improvement and amelioration ; and, if the idea would not be considered visionary and chimerical, I could fondly hope, that the present plan of the great potentate of the North * might, in some measure, lay the foundation for that assimilation of manners and interests, which should, one day, remove many of the causes of hostility from among mankind. 1788.

—

To know the affinity of tongues, seems to me to be one step towards promoting the affinity of nations. 1788.

* The Empress of Russia, Catharine the Second, who was compiling a Universal Dictionary. She obtained, through Washington, vocabularies of the Delaware and Shawnese languages.

5. *CHRISTIAN CHARITIES.*

Public Charities and benevolent Associations for the gratuitous relief of every species of distress, are peculiar to Christianity; no other system of civil or religious policy has *originated* them; they form its highest praise and characteristic feature.
C. C. Colton.

I had orders from General Washington, to fill a corn-house every year, for the sole use of the poor in my neighborhood, to whom it was a most seasonable and precious relief, saving numbers of poor women and children from extreme want, and blessing them with plenty. J. Peake.

THE POOR.

Let the hospitality of the house, with respect to the poor, be kept up.* Let no one go hungry away. If any of this kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness. And I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, to the amount of forty or fifty pounds a year, when you think it well bestowed. What I mean by having no objection is, that it is my desire it should be done.

You must consider, that neither myself nor my wife is now in the way to do these good offices. In all other respects, I recommend it to you, and have no doubt of your observing the greatest economy and frugality, as I suppose you know that I do not get a

* This direction is addressed to the manager of his estates, Lund Washington.

farthing for my services here, more than my expenses. It becomes necessary, therefore, for me to be saving at home. 1775.

WIDOWS AND ORPHANS.

I am at a loss, for whose benefit to apply the little I can give, and in whose hands to place it ; whether for the use of the fatherless children and widows, made so by the late calamity,* who may find it difficult, whilst provisions, wood, and other necessaries are so dear, to support themselves ; or to other and better purposes, if any, I know not, and therefore have taken the liberty of asking your † advice. 1794.

—

I will direct my manager to pay my annual donation, for the education of Orphan Children, or the children of Indigent Parents, who are unable to be at the expense themselves. I had pleasure in appropriating this money to such uses, as I always shall have in paying it. 1794.

—

Mrs. H. should endeavor to do what she can for herself. This is the duty of every one. But you ‡ must not let her suffer, as she has thrown herself upon

* An epidemic fever at Philadelphia.

† The Rt. Rev. Dr. Wm. White, Protestant Episcopalian Bishop of Pennsylvania, and Rector of the church which Washington attended, when in Philadelphia.

‡ His agent.

me. Your advances, on this account, will be allowed always at settlement.

I agree readily to furnish her with provisions; and, from the good character you give of her daughter, make the latter a present, in my name, of a handsome but not costly gown, and other things which she may stand mostly in need of.

You may charge me also with the worth of your tenement on which she is placed; and where, perhaps, it is better she should be, than at a greater distance from your attentions to her. *Feb.*, 22, 1795.

I am sorry to hear of the death of Mrs. H.; and will very cheerfully receive her daughter, the moment I get settled at this * place; sooner, it would not be possible, because this house will be, as it has been, empty, from the time we shall quit it in October, until my final establishment in the spring.

Such necessaries as she needs in the mean time, may, however, be furnished her at my expense; and if it is inconvenient for you to retain her in your own house, let her be boarded in some respectable family, where her morals and good behavior will be attended to; at my expense also.

Let her want for nothing that is decent or proper; and if she remains in your family, I wish, for the girl's sake, as well as for the use she may be of to your aunt, when she comes here, that Mrs. —— would keep her

* Mount Vernon.

industriously employed always, and instructed in the care and economy of housekeeping. *June*, 1796.

Enclosed is a letter for S. H., left open for your * perusal, before it is forwarded to her ; with the contents of which, respecting the payment of *ten pounds*, I request you to comply ; and charge the same to the account of your collection of my rents. 1798.

EDUCATION OF A STUDENT AT COLLEGE.

Having once or twice heard you speak highly of the New Jersey College, as if you had a desire of sending your son William there, (who, I am told, is a youth fond of study and instruction, and disposed to a studious life, in following which he may not only promote his own happiness, but the future welfare of others,) I should be glad, if you have no other objection to it than the expense, if you would send him to that college, as soon as convenient, and depend on me for twenty-five pounds a year for his support, so long as it may be necessary for the completion of his education.

If I live to see the accomplishment of this term, the sum here stipulated shall be annually paid. And if I die in the mean time, this letter shall be obligatory upon my heirs or executors to do it according to the true intent and meaning hereof.

* His agent.

No other return is expected or wished, for this offer, than that you will accept it with the same freedom and good will with which it is made, and that you may not even consider it in the light of an obligation, or mention it as such ; for, be assured, that from me it will never be known. 1769.

PUBLIC BENEFICENCE.

If it should please the General Assembly,* to permit me to turn the destination of the fund vested in me, from my *private emolument*, to objects of a PUBLIC nature, it will be my study, in selecting these, to prove the sincerity of my gratitude for the honor conferred on me, by preferring such as may appear most subservient to the enlightened and patriotic views of the legislature. 1785.

ALEXANDRIA ACADEMY.

To the trustees. . . . I give four thousand dollars, or, in other words, twenty of the shares which I hold in the Bank of Alexandria, toward the support of a FREE SCHOOL, established at, or annexed to, the Aca-

* The General Assembly of Virginia made him a donation, testifying their sense of his merits. It consisted of fifty shares in the Potomac Company, and a hundred shares in the James River Company.

demy ; for the purpose of educating such Orphan Children, or *the children of such other poor and indigent persons* as are unable to accomplish it with their own means, and who, in the judgment of the trustees of the seminary, are best entitled to the benefit of the donation.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

I give the fifty shares which I hold in the Potomac Company, towards the endowment of a University, to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the General Government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it.

LIBERTY HALL ACADEMY.*

The hundred shares which I hold in the James River Company, I give to and for the use and benefit of Liberty Hall Academy, in the county of Rockbridge, in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

* Now called *Washington College.*

6. *CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY.*

Man is one:
And he hath one great heart.

PHILIP JAMES BAILEY.

I received with great pleasure thy letter, containing an extract of another from General Washington, in which that hero, who effected, with little bloodshed, the greatest revolution in history, breathes *the sentiments of true philanthropy.*

A warrior clothed with humanity and wisdom, is the symbol of Minerva; and few have united them. Turenne had courage and some degree of humanity; but he it was that burnt the Palatinate, and had the Nero-like pleasure of seeing thirteen cities in flames. Scipio's humanity was stained with the destruction of Carthage; and Rome fell for want of a rival. Alexander the Great, and the modern Frederick, had their stains of cruelty. But YOUR HERO, without the Hetor of Cincinnatus, was obeyed,—conquers, and retires, without the foul stain of blood.

Might I presume upon communicating to him *the cordial approbation his humane sentiments have impressed upon me?* DR. LETSOM, *of London, a member of the Society of Friends.*

RECONCILIATION.

Every exertion of my colleagues and myself will be extended, to the re-establishment of peace and harmony between the mother-country and the colonies.

1775.

THE CAUSE OF THE OPPRESSED.

My anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes are irresistibly attracted, whensoever *in any country* I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom.

Our citizen-soldiers have impressed a useful lesson of patriotism on mankind.

UNIVERSAL SYMPATHY.

The voice of mankind is with me.

—

Happy, thrice happy shall they be pronounced, . . . who have assisted in protecting THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE, and establishing AN ASYLUM FOR THE POOR AND OPPRESSED OF ALL NATIONS AND RELIGIONS.

—

My policy has been, to cultivate PEACE WITH ALL THE WORLD.

—

For me to express my sentiments, with respect to the administration of the concerns of another government, might incur a charge of stepping beyond the line of prudence. But *the principles of humanity* will justify an avowal of my regret, and I do regret exceedingly, that any causes whatever should have produced and continued until this time a war, more bloody, more expensive, more calamitous, and more pregnant with events, than modern or perhaps any other times can furnish an example of. And I most sincerely and devoutly wish, that the exertions of those having this object in view, may effect what HUMAN NATURE cries aloud for,—a GENERAL PEACE.

THE CAUSE OF SUFFERING HUMANITY.

I observe with singular satisfaction, the cases in which your * benevolent institution has been instrumental, in recalling some of our fellow-creatures, as it were, from beyond the gates of eternity, and has given occasion for the hearts of parents and friends to leap for joy.

—

The provision made for the preservation of shipwrecked mariners, is also highly estimable, in the view of every philanthropic mind, and greatly consolatory to that suffering part of the community. These things will draw upon you the blessings of those who were nigh to perish.

—

These works of charity and good will towards men reflect, in my estimation, great lustre upon the authors, and presage an era of still further improvements.

—

How pitiful, in the eye of reason and religion, is that false ambition, which desolates the world with fire and sword, for the purposes of conquest and fame, when compared to the milder virtues of making our neighbors and our fellow-men as happy as their frail condition and perishable nature will permit them to be!

* The Massachusetts Humane Society.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.

As the member of an infant empire, as a philanthropist by character, and, if I may be allowed the expression, as a citizen of the Great Republic of Humanity at large, I cannot help turning my attention, sometimes, to this subject.

I would be understood to mean, I cannot avoid reflecting, with pleasure, on the probable influence that commerce may hereafter have on *human manners*, and *society in general.*

On these occasions I consider, how mankind may be connected, like ONE GREAT FAMILY, in fraternal ties.

I indulge a fond, perhaps an enthusiastic idea, that, as the world is evidently much less barbarous than it has been, its melioration must still be progressive ; that nations are becoming more humanized in their policy ; that the subjects of ambition and causes for hostility are daily diminishing ; and, in fine, that the period is not very remote, when the benefits of a liberal and free commerce will pretty generally succeed to the devastations and horrors of war. 1786.

V. DEATH.

I. MORTALITY AND BEREAVEMENT.

May the crown of universal love and gratitude, of universal admiration, and of the universal reverence and honor of thy saved country, rest and flourish upon the head of its Veteran General, and Glorious Defender; until, by the divine Jesus whom thou hast loved and adored, and of whose holy religion thou art not ashamed, thou shalt be translated from a world of war, to a world of peace, liberty, and eternal triumph.

EZRA STILES, D. D., LL. D., *Pres. of Yale College*, 1783.

Our hero was the same in that moment, as in all the past,—magnanimous, firm, *confiding in the mercy*, resigned to *the will*, of Heaven.

SAMUEL STANHOPE SMITH, D. D., *Pres. of Coll. of New-Jersey.*

BEREAVEMENT.

I am extremely sorry for the the death of Mrs. Putnam, and sympathize with you* on the occasion.

Remembering, that all must die, and that she had lived to an honorable age, I hope you will bear the misfortune, with that fortitude and complacency of mind, that become a man and a Christian.

1777.

* General Putnam.

MOURNING.

The ties of nature must have their yearnings, before calm resignation will preponderate. 1787.

DEATH OF SEVERAL REVOLUTIONARY WORTHIES.

Thus, some of the pillars of the Revolution fall. Others are mouldering, by insensible degrees.

May our country never want props, to support the glorious fabric. 1786.

CHRISTIAN FORTITUDE.

Time alone can blunt the keen edge of afflictions.

Philosophy and our Religion hold out to us such hopes as will, upon proper reflection, enable us to bear, with fortitude, the most calamitous incidents of life ; and this is all that can be expected from the feelings of humanity. 1788.

RESIGNATION.

It is not for man, to scan the wisdom of Providence.

The best we can do is, to submit to the decrees of Providence.

Reason, Religion, and Philosophy teach us to submit; but it is *time* alone, that can ameliorate the pangs of humanity, and soften its woes.

HIS MOTHER'S DEATH.

Awful and affecting as the death of a parent is, there is consolation in knowing, that Heaven has spared ours,* to an age† beyond which few attain, and favored her with the full enjoyment of her mental faculties, and as much bodily strength as usually falls to the lot of fourscore.

Under these circumstances, and *the hope that she is translated to a happier place*, it is the duty of her relations, to yield due submission to the decrees of the Creator. 1789.

CARES OF LIFE.

Life and the concerns of this world, one would think, are so uncertain, and so full of disappointments, that nothing is to be counted upon from human actions.

* He is addressing himself to his only sister, Mrs. Lewis.

† She died, August 25th, 1789, in her 83d year, when he was at New York.

It is in vain, I perceive, to look for ease and happiness in a world of troubles.

CONSOLATION.

In looking forward to that awful moment when I must bid adieu to sublunary things, I anticipate the consolation, of leaving our country in a prosperous condition.

And while the curtain of separation shall be drawing, my last breath will, I trust, expire in a prayer for the temporal and eternal felicity of those, who have not only endeavored to gild the evening of my days with unclouded serenity, but extended their desires to *my happiness hereafter, in a brighter world.* 1790.

COMPOSURE, IN SICKNESS.

Do not flatter me with vain hopes.* I am not afraid to die, and therefore can hear the worst.

Whether to-night, or twenty years hence, makes no difference. I know, that I am in the hands of a good Providence. 1789.

* He was dangerously ill, at New York, and he addressed these words to his attending physician, Doctor Bard.

CALM VIEWS OF DEATH.

The want of regular exercise, and the cares of office, will, I have no doubt, hasten my departure for that country from which no traveller returns.

But a faithful discharge of whatever trust I accept, as it ever has been, so it always will be, the primary consideration, in every transaction of my life, be the consequences what they may. 1789.

THE FAMILY VAULT.

I intend to place it there.* [Pointing to the spot where the new vault now stands.]

First of all, I shall make this change; for, after all, I † may require it before the rest. *Dec.*, 1799.

* "During my last visit to the General," [in December 1799,] says one of his nephews, "we walked together about the grounds, and talked of various improvements he had in contemplation. The lawn was to be extended to the river, in the direction of the *old* vault, which was to be removed, on account of the inroads made by the roots of the trees with which it was crowned, which caused it to break." He then pointed out the spot where the new vault now stands.

† These words were uttered, when he appeared to be in perfect health, a few days only before his death. Some of his guests remarked, at the time, "We never saw the General look so well." "A few days afterwards," says his nephew, "being on my way home in company with others, while we were conversing about Washington, I saw a servant rapidly riding towards me. On his near ap-

The family vault at Mount Vernon requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of brick, and upon a larger scale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard Enclosure, on the ground which is marked out; in which my remains, with those of my deceased relations, (now in the old vault,) and such others of my family as may choose to be entombed there, may be deposited.

And it is my express desire, that my corpse may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral oration. *July*, 1799.

2. *HIS LAST MOMENTS.*

His death was sudden, but he was ready. . . . We have seen his end, and it was peace. JEDIDIAH MORSE, D. D., 1800.

We will watch with pious care the laurels which shade thy urn, and wear thy name engraven on our hearts. Oh, yet protect thy country! Save her! She is an orphan. Her father is mingled with the dust. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, 1800.

You would have thought, the Americans were speaking of their father.
M. BRISSOT.

Mr. Lear, in his description of the closing scene, has these words: "Dr. Craik placed his hands over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh." This statement is no doubt true, but it does not contain the whole truth. It was said and believed, at the time, that General Washington *closed his own eyes;* and the writer is assured, that such was the fact, since he heard it asserted by one who had *the best opportunity* of knowing the *certainty* of it

proach, I recognized him as belonging to Mount Vernon. He rode up,—his countenance told the story,—he handed me a letter. Washington was dead."

The matter, indeed, is one of no great importance; but serves to show, that some things escaped the notice of Mr. Lear, or were thought too trivial for record by him. This circumstance, however, is not without interest, as indicating a *perfect self-possession and composure of mind.* E. C. M'Guire, D. D.

See him on his dying couch, calm and dignified in his distress. He has fought the good fight, and death has to him no terrors. With his own firm hand he closes his eyes, and is gone. J. Dunham, A. M., *Capt. 16th U. S. Regiment*, 1800.

The illness was short and severe. Mrs. Washington left not the chamber of the sufferer, but was seen kneeling at the bedside, her head resting upon her Bible, which had been her solace in the many and heavy afflictions she had undergone. Dr. Craik, the early friend and companion in arms of the Chief, replaced the hand, which was almost pulseless, upon the pillow, while he turned away to conceal the tears that fast chased each other down his furrowed cheeks.

The last effort of the expiring Washington was worthy of the Roman fame of his life and character. He raised himself up, and casting a look of benignity on all around him, as if to thank them for their kindly attentions, he composed his limbs, closed his eyes, and folding his arms upon his bosom, the Father of his country expired, gently as though an infant died! George W. P. Custis, *grandson of Mrs. Washington.*

Feeling, that the silver cord of life is loosing, and that his spirit is ready to quit her old companion the body, he extends himself on his bed, closes his eyes for the last time with his own hands, folds his arms decently on his breast; then, breathing out, "Father of mercies, take me to thyself," he fell asleep.

Rev. M. L. Weems, 1808, *Rector of Mount Vernon Parish.*
"He was at much pains to ascertain the most interesting events of Washington's life and death."—*M'Guire.*

HIS DYING WORDS.

I find I am going. My breath cannot last long. I believed from the first, that the disorder* would prove fatal.

Do you† arrange and record all my late military

* A cold, a sore throat, difficulty of breathing and of swallowing, on Friday, December 13th, 1799.

† Tobias Lear, his private secretary.

letters and papers. Arrange my accounts, and settle my books, as you know more about them than any one else; and let Mr. Rawlins finish recording my other letters, which he has begun.*

—

I am afraid I fatigue you too much.†

—

Well, it is a debt we must pay to each other; and I hope, when you want aid of this kind, you will find it.

—

Doctor,‡ I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed, from my first attack, that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long. 5 P. M.

—

I feel myself going. I thank you‖ for your attention. But I pray you to take no more trouble

* "He then asked, if I recollected any thing which it was essential for him to do, as he had but a very short time to continue with us. I told him, that I could recollect nothing, but that I hoped he was not so near his end. He observed, smiling, that he certainly was, and that, as it was the debt which we must all pay, he looked to the event with perfect resignation."—Tobias Lear.

† "In the course of the afternoon, (Saturday,) he appeared to be in great pain and distress, from the difficulty of breathing, and frequently changed his posture in the bed. On these occasions, I lay upon the bed and endeavored to raise him, and turn him with as much ease as possible. He appeared penetrated with gratitude for my attentions."—Tobias Lear.

‡ Dr. Craik, his family physician.

‖ The three physicians at his bedside,—Dr. Craik, Dr. Dick, and Dr. Brown.

about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long. 6 P. M.

I am just going. Have me decently buried. And do not let my body be put into the vault, in less than three days after I am dead.

Do you understand me? [Addressing Mr. Lear.]

[Upon Mr. Lear's replying, Yes, he added,]

'Tis well. 10 P. M.

[Mrs. Washington was at the bedside, where she had often been "seen kneeling" with "her head resting upon the Bible;" Mr. Lear and Dr. Craik were leaning over the bed; and four of the domestics were in the room. "He raised himself up, and casting a look of benignity on all around him, as if to thank them for their kindly attention, he composed his limbs, closed his eyes, and, folding his arms upon his bosom," expired, saying,]

FATHER OF MERCIES, TAKE ME TO THYSELF.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

IN THE

LIFE OF WASHINGTON.

YEARS.	HIS AGE.	EVENTS.	
1732	. .	*Feb.* 22.	His birth, in Westmoreland county, Virginia.
1743	10	*Apr.* 12.	Death of his father, at the age of 49 years.
1746	14	. . . .	His brother Lawrence obtained for him a midshipman's warrant, in the British navy.
1748	16	*Mar.* . .	Surveyor of Lord Fairfax's lands on the Potomac river.
1751	19	. . . .	Military Inspector, with the rank of Major, to protect the frontiers of Virginia against the French and Indians.
1751	19	*Sept.*	He sailed for Barbadoes, with his brother Lawrence.
1752	20	. .	Adjutant General.
1753	21	*Oct.* 31.	Commissioner to the French on the Ohio.
1754	22	. . . .	Lieutenant-Colonel, for the defence of the colony of Virginia.
1755	23	*July* 9.	Aid-de-camp to General Braddock, at the battle of Monongahela.
1755	23	*Aug.* 14.	Commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces.
1758	26	*Dec.* . .	He resigned his commission.
1759	26	*Jan.* 6.	His marriage. Member of the Virginia House of Burgesses.
1765	33	. . . .	Commissioner for settling the military accounts of the colony.
1770	38	. . . .	His tour to the Ohio and Great Kenawha rivers.
1774	42	. . . .	Member of the Virginia Conventions, on the points at issue between Great Britain and the Colonies.
1774	42	*Sept.* . .	Member of the first Continental Congress.
1775	43	*May* 10.	Member of the second Continental Congress.
1775	43	*June* 15.	Commander-in-chief.
1775	43	*July* 3.	Commander of the army at Cambridge.
1776	44	*Mar.* 17.	Boston evacuated by the British army.
1776	44	*July* 4.	Declaration of American Independence.
1776	44	*Aug.* 27.	Battle of Long Island.
1776	44	*Dec.* 26.	Battle of Trenton.
1776	44	*Dec.* 27.	Congress invested him with dictatorial powers.
1777	44	*Jan.* 3.	Battle of Princeton.
1777	45	*Sept.* 11.	Battle of the Brandywine.
1777	45	*Oct.* 4.	Battle of Germantown.

YEARS.	HIS AGE.	EVENTS.	
1778	46	*June* 28.	Battle of Monmouth.
1779	47	*July* 16.	Stony Point taken.
1780	48	———	Arnold's treason.
1781	48	*Jan.* 1.	Mutiny of the Pennsylvania troops.
1781	49	*Oct.* 19.	Surrender of Yorktown and Gloucester.
1783	51	*Apr.* 19.	Peace proclaimed to the army.
1783	51	*Nov.* 2.	His farewell to the army.
1783	51	*Nov.* 25.	New York evacuated by the British army.
1783	51	*Dec.* 23.	He resigned his commission.
1784	52	. . .	His tour to the Western Country.
1787	55	*May* 14.	Delegate to the General Convention at Philadelphia, to form a Constitution. President of the Convention.
1789	57	*Mar.* 4.	President of the United States.
1789	57	*Apr.* 30.	His inauguration, at New York.
1789	57	*Aug.* 25.	Death of his mother, at the age of 82 years.
			His tour through the Eastern States.
1791	59	. . . .	His tour through the Southern States.
1793	61	*Mar.* 4.	President, for a second term.
1793	61	. .	M. Genet, Minister from France to the United States.
1796	64	*Sept.* 17.	His Farewell Address to the people of the United States.
1797	65	———	He retired to private life. Difficulties with France. Preparations for war.
1798	66	*July* 3.	Commander-in-chief of the Armies of the United States.
1799	67	*Dec.* 14.	His death, at Mount Vernon.

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APPENDIX:

President George Washington's "Farewell Address" To the People of the United States

September 17, 1796.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

The footnotes appended to the text of the *"Farewell Address"* were extracted, in most instances, from two earlier editors: W. D. Lewis and Frank W. Pine. Their surnames follow the footnotes where appropriate.

For further commentary, please refer to: Lewis, W. D., ed. *"George Washington's Farewell Address To The People Of The United States."* New York: American Book Company, 1906, 1910 in ECLECTIC ENGLISH CLASSICS; and Pine, Frank W., ed. *"The Farewell Address Of George Washington.'* New York: American Book Company, 1911 in THE GATEWAY SERIES OF ENGLISH TEXTS.

PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant,[1] and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a

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[1]The Farewell Address was issued about two months before the presidential election in 1796. (Lewis)

strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages[2] have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement[3] from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations,[4] and the unanimous advice of persons

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[2]Votes. (Pine)

[3]His home at Mount Vernon. Before starting for the capital at New York to assume the office of President, Washington wrote to a friend: "In confidence I tell you that my movements to the chair of government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of execution." (Lewis)

[4]In 1792 America's relations with England and Spain were far from cordial. France was convulsed with civil strife, culminating in 1793 in a war with England which almost drew America into the conflict.

entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion.[5] In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

(Lewis)

[5]Washington's first inaugural address to Congress, April 30, 1789. (Lewis and Pine)

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommend-

ing it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.[6]

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so: for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee

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[6]Probably Washington's June 8, 1783 farewell circular letter addressed to the Governors of all the States on disbanding the army. (Lewis and Pine)

that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium[7] of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, or a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived

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[7]Safeguard. The famous Palladium of antiquity was a statue of Pallas Athene, goddess of wisdom. It was kept in the citadel of Troy, in the belief that the safety of the city depended on its preservation. (Lewis and Pine)

from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility,[8] are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communi-

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[8]Emotions. (Pine)

cations by land and water,[9] will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation.* Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power,[10] must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent

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[9]The construction of the National Road, a highway connecting the Ohio River with the Potomac, was begun in 1811. The Erie Canal, connecting the Great Lakes with the Hudson River, was completed in 1825. (Lewis)

[10]In 1785 John Jay, then secretary for foreign affairs of the Confederation, favored making a commercial treaty with Spain, in return for which Spain should be free to close the lower course of the Mississippi River to navigation for 25 years. The states west of the Alleghanies were so indignant at this proposal that they threatened to make an alliance with Great Britain in order to secure the right of navigating the Mississippi. (Lewis)

interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain,[11] and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of

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[11] One of the articles of the Treaty with Spain in 1795 secured to American settlers in the West freedom to navigate the Mississippi. Since Spain then owned the land on both sides of the Mississippi near the mouth of the river, she had control of all navigation bound for the Gulf of Mexico, and had previously refused to allow our vessels to pass down the river. (Lewis)

two treaties, that with Great Britain,[12] and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former[13] for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your

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[12]The Jay Treaty with Great Britain of 1795. One of its conditions was the surrender by the British of several western forts which they had held since the Revolution. (Lewis)

[13]The Articles of Confederation, under which the government operated from 1781 to 1788. (Pine and Lewis)

support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations,[14] under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

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[14] During Washington's administration numerous "democratic societies" stirred up the people against the powers of the government. (Lewis)

However combinations or associations of the above descriptions may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines,[15] by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a

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[15]Instruments. Compare the modern phrase, the "political machine." (Lewis)

country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprise of faction, to confine each member of society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness,[16] and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. The disorders and miseries which result

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[16] Heavy growth of something disagreeable; as, of some unwholesome weed. (Pine)

gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that

spirit for every salutary[17] purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories,[18] and constituting each the guardian of the

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[17] Beneficial. (Pine)

[18] The United States government has three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. The executive power is vested in the President, who can check the action of Congress by vetoing its acts. On the other hand, Congress, the legislative branch, can by a two-thirds majority pass acts over the President's veto; can impeach the President for improper conduct; and the Senate can refuse to ratify his appointments, or treaties with foreign nations. The judicial power is vested chiefly in the Supreme Court, which has the right to decide as to the constitutionality of any law passed by Congress. (Lewis)

public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclu-

sion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts[19] which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, nor ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should

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[19]Through the foresight and wise financial poilicy of Alexander Hamilton, Sec. of the Treasury, the new government had from the very beginning begun to pay the debts incurred on account of the Revolution. (Lewis)

cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be decisive motive for a candid construction[20] of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more

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[20] Interpretation. (Lewis)

essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. That nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite

nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions: by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive

partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes[21] of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations,

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[21] Ups and downs. (Pine)

under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are not at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments,[22] on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of

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[22]Military and naval organization. (Pine)

things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by

which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relating to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers,[23] has been virtually admitted by

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[23]France had been fighting aganist a coalition of the European nations, including England, Holland, Spain, Austria, and Prussia. (Lewis)

all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself

and his progenitors for several generations,[24] I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States, September 17th, 1796.

[24] John Washington came to America from England about 1657. George Washington was his great-grandson. (Lewis)

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